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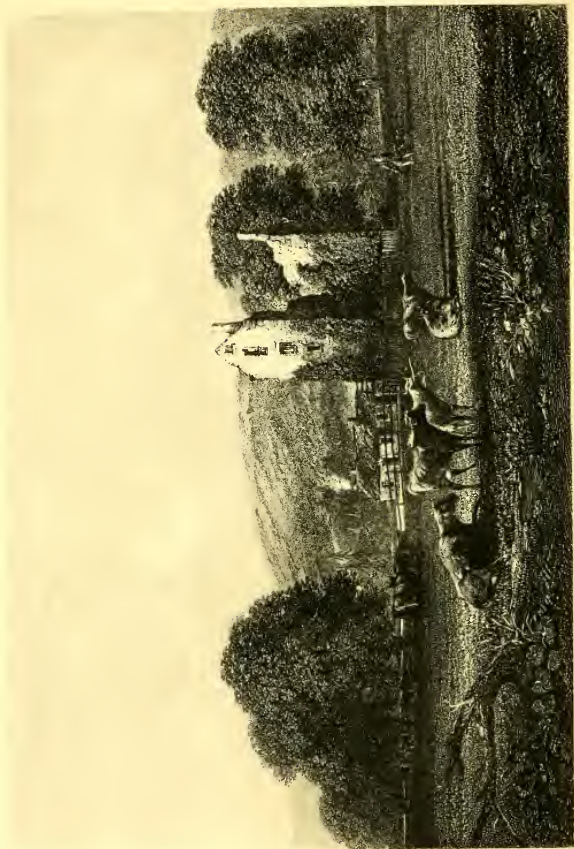


THE  
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

VOLUME SIX







THE HISTORY OF  
THE HIGHLANDS, REGIMENTS  
AND CLANS

By  
JAMES BROWN, LL.D.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.  
(VOLUME III.)



FRANCIS & CO.  
EDINBURGH LONDON GLASGOW  
1911

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Comrie Castle

*Photogravure from the Painting by Brown*





# The History of Scotland Its Highlands, Regiments and Clans

By  
JAMES BROWNE, LL. D.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES  
VOLUME VI



**Francis A. Nicolls & Co.**

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# THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

## VOLUME VI

### CHAPTER I

#### BATTLE OF CULLODEN

HAVING spent upwards of five weeks at Aberdeen, the Duke of Cumberland began to prepare for his march to the north. As it was his intention to proceed by the coast road, he had ordered a number of victualling ships to rendezvous at Aberdeen; and early in April, these vessels, escorted by several ships of war provided with artillery, ammunition, and other warlike stores, had arrived at their destination, for the purpose of following the army along the coast and affording the necessary supplies. About this time the weather had become favourable, and though still cold, the snow had disappeared, and a dry wind which had prevailed for some days had rendered the River Spey, the passage of which was considered the most formidable obstacle to his march, fordable.

Accordingly, on the eighth of April the duke left Aberdeen with the last division of his army, consisting of six battalions of foot and a regiment of dragoons. The whole regular force under his command amounted to about seventy-two hundred men, comprehending fifteen regiments of foot, two of dragoons, and Kingston's horse. Besides these, there were the Argyleshire men

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and other militia, whose united numbers may be stated at two thousand. At the time of the duke's departure, six battalions, with Kingston's horse and Cobham's dragoons, under Major-General Bland, were stationed at Strathbogie, and three battalions at Old Meldrum, under Brigadier Mordaunt. The duke quartered the first night at Old Meldrum and the next at Banff, where two spies were seized and hanged. One of them was caught while in the act of notching upon a stick the number of the duke's forces. On the eleventh the duke marched to Cullen, and at Portsoy he was joined by the remainder of his army, which had been stationed at Old Meldrum and Strathbogie. The army being too numerous to obtain quarters in the town, the foot encamped for the night on some ploughed fields in the neighbourhood, and the horse were quartered in Cullen and the adjacent villages. The Earl of Findlater, who, with his countess, had accompanied the army on its march from Aberdeen, on arriving at his seat at Cullen, made a present of two hundred guineas to the troops.

Next day, being Saturday, the twelfth of April, the duke put his army again in motion, and, after a short march, halted on the moor of Arrondel, about five or six miles from the River Spey. He then formed his army into three divisions, each about half a mile distant from the other, and in this order they advanced towards the Spey. The left division, which was the largest, crossed the river by a ford near Gormach, the centre by another close by Gordon castle, and the division on the right by a ford near the church of Belly. In their passage, the men were up to their waists in the water, but, with the exception of the loss of one dragoon and four women, who were carried away by the stream, no accident occurred.

The Duke of Perth, who happened at this time to be

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with the Highland forces appointed to defend the passage of the Spey, not thinking it advisable to dispute that position against such an overwhelming force as that to which he was opposed, retired towards Elgin on the approach of the Duke of Cumberland. The conduct of the Duke of Perth, and of his brother, Lord John Drummond, has been censured for not disputing the passage of the Spey, but without reason. The whole of the Highland forces along the Spey did not exceed twenty-five hundred men, being little more than a fourth of those under the Duke of Cumberland. Notwithstanding this great disparity, the Highlanders, aided by the swollen state of the river, might have effectually opposed the passage of the royal army had it been attempted during the month of March, but a recent drought had greatly reduced the quantity of water in the river, and had rendered it fordable in several places to such an extent, that at two of them a whole battalion might have marched abreast. As some of the fords run in a zigzag direction, some damage might have been done to the royal army in crossing, but as the Duke of Cumberland had a good train of artillery, he could have easily covered his passage at these places.

The departure of the Duke of Cumberland from Aberdeen was not known at Inverness till the twelfth, on the morning of which day intelligence was brought to Charles that he was in full march to the north with his whole army. Shortly after his arrival at Inverness, Charles had formed the design, while the Duke of Cumberland lay at Aberdeen, of giving him the slip, by marching to Perth by the Highland road, so as to induce the duke to return south and thus leave the northern coast clear for the landing of supplies from France. With this view, he had directed the siege

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of Fort William to be pushed, and, calculating upon a speedy reduction of that fortress, he had sent orders to the Macdonalds, the Camerons, and the Stewarts, who were engaged in the siege, immediately on the capture of the fort to march into Argyleshire, and, after chastising the Whigs in that district, and giving an opportunity to their friends there to join them, to proceed to Perth. Charles, however, for the present, laid aside the intention of marching south, and knowing that the Duke of Cumberland would advance from Aberdeen early in April, he gave orders for concentrating his forces at Inverness, and, as soon as he was informed of the duke's march, he renewed these orders, by sending expresses everywhere to bring up his men. Those who had been at the siege of Fort William were already on their march, but Lord Cromarty was at a considerable distance with a large body of men, and could scarcely be expected to arrive in time if the duke was resolved on an immediate action.

Besides the men who were absent on the expeditions in Lochaber and Sutherland, there were many others who had returned to their homes, either discontented with the situation in which they found themselves after they came to Inverness, or to see their families or friends. Up to the period of their arrival there, they had received their pay punctually, but at Inverness the face of affairs was completely changed in this respect, and instead of money the troops were reduced to a weekly allowance of oatmeal. The men murmured at first at the stoppage of their pay, but their clamours were quieted by their officers, who gave them assurances that a supply of money would soon be received from France. This expectation would have been realized, but for the misfortune which befell the *Prince Charles*, and in consequence of that event, the soldiers began to



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murmur afresh, and some of them seeing no pressing occasion for their attendance, and, choosing rather to enjoy a frugal repast with their friends at home than serve without pay, left the army. These absentees, however, had no intention of abandoning the service, and were resolved to rejoin their colours as soon as they saw a probability of coming to action. Accordingly, many of those who had returned to their homes set out of their own accord to rejoin the army, on hearing of the Duke of Cumberland's advance, though few of them arrived in time for the battle.

Reduced in numbers as the prince's army was from the causes alluded to, they still burned with impatience to meet the enemy; and when intelligence of the Duke of Cumberland's march from Aberdeen reached Inverness, it was hailed with joy by the portion there assembled. From the fatigues and labours they had experienced during the campaign, and the numerous inconveniences to which they had been subjected from the want of pay, there was nothing the Highlanders dreaded more than another march to the south; but the near prospect they now had of meeting the English army upon their own soil, and of putting an end to the war by one bold and decisive blow, absorbed for a while all recollection of their past sufferings. By drawing the Duke of Cumberland north to Inverness, it was generally supposed that the prince could meet him on more equal terms than at Aberdeen, as he would have a better and more numerous army at Inverness than he could have carried south. This unquestionably would have been the case had Charles avoided a battle till he had assembled all his troops, but his confidence on the present occasion got the better of his prudence.

After crossing the Spey, the Duke of Cumberland halted his army on the western bank, and encamped

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opposite to Fochabers, but the horse afterward repassed the river and took up their quarters in the town. Here, as at Cullen, every precaution was taken to prevent surprise. Early next morning he raised his camp, and passing through Elgin, encamped on the moor of Alves, nearly midway between Elgin and Forres. The Duke of Perth, who had passed the previous night at Forres, retired to Nairn upon his approach. The Duke of Cumberland renewed his march on the fourteenth and came to Nairn, where the Duke of Perth remained till he was within a mile of the town, and began his retreat in sight of the English army. In this retreat, Clanranald's regiment, with the French piquets and Fitz-James's horse, formed the rear. To harass the rear, and retard the march of the main body till some of his foot should come up, the Duke of Cumberland sent forward his cavalry. Several shots were exchanged between the duke's cavalry and the French horse, and in expectation of an engagement with the duke's advanced guard, consisting of two hundred cavalry and the Argyleshire men, the Macdonalds of Clanranald, and the Stewarts of Appin, were ordered back to support the French. These regiments accordingly returned and took ground, and Fitz-James's horse formed on their right and left. The duke's advanced guard thereupon halted, and formed in order of battle, but as the main body of the English army was in full march the rear recommenced their retreat. The advanced guard continued to pursue the Highlanders several miles beyond Nairn, but finding the chase useless, returned to the main body which was preparing to encamp on a plain to the west of Nairn.

Neither at the time when Charles received intelligence of the Duke of Cumberland's march from Aberdeen, nor till the following day (Sunday), when news

## BATTLE OF CULLODEN

was brought to him that the English army had actually crossed the Spey, does Charles appear to have had any intention of speedily risking a battle. He probably expected that with the aid of the reinforcements he had sent to support the Duke of Perth, his Grace would have been able, for some time at least, to have maintained a position on the western bank of the river, and that time would be thus afforded him to collect the scattered portions of his army, before being compelled by the advance of the Duke of Cumberland, to come to a general engagement; but whatever his intentions were anterior to the receipt of the intelligence of the English army having crossed the Spey, that circumstance alone made him determine to attack the Duke of Cumberland without waiting for the return of his absent detachments.

Accordingly, on the morning of the fourteenth, Charles ordered the drums to beat, and the pipes to be played, as the signal for summoning his men to arms. After those who were in the town had assembled in the streets, the prince mounted his horse, and putting himself at their head, led them out to Culloden, about four miles from Inverness. Leaving part of his men in the parks around Culloden house, Charles went onward with his first troop of guards and the Mackintosh regiment, and advanced within six miles of Nairn to support the Duke of Perth, but finding him out of danger, he returned to Culloden, where he was joined by the whole of the duke's forces in the evening. Lochiel also arrived at the same time with his regiment. That night the Highlanders bivouacked among the furze of Culloden wood, and Charles and his principal officers lodged in Culloden house.

Having selected Drum Mossie moor for a field of battle, Prince Charles marched his army thither early

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in the morning of the fifteenth, and drew his men up in order of battle across the moor, which is about half a mile broad. His front looked towards Nairn, and he had the river of that name on his right, and the enclosures of Culloden on his left. This moor, which is a healthy flat of considerable extent about five miles from Inverness and about a mile and a half to the south-east of Culloden house, forms the top of a hill which, rising at Culloden, dies gradually away in the direction of Nairn. The ascent to the moor is steep on both sides, particularly from the shore. In pitching upon this ground, Charles acted on the supposition that the Duke of Cumberland would march along the moor, which was better fitted for the free passage of his army than the common road between Nairn and Inverness, which was narrow and inconvenient.

In expectation that the Duke of Cumberland would advance, Charles sent forward on the road to Nairn some parties of horse to reconnoitre, but they could observe no appearance of any movement among the royal troops. The ground on which the army was now formed had been chosen without consulting Lord George Murray, who, on arriving on the spot, objected to it, on the footing that though interspersed with moss and some hollows, the ground was generally too level, and consequently not well suited for the operations of Highlanders. He therefore proposed to look out for more eligible ground, and at his suggestion Brigadier Stapleton and Colonel Ker were sent about ten o'clock to survey some hilly ground on the south side of the water of Nairn, which appeared to him to be steep and uneven, and of course more advantageous for Highlanders. After an absence of two or three hours, these officers returned and reported that the ground they had been appointed to examine was rugged and boggy,

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that no cavalry could act upon it, that the ascent on the side next the river was steep, and that there were only two or three places, about three or four miles above, where cavalry could pass; the banks of the river below being inaccessible. On receiving this information, Lord George Murray proposed, in the event of Cumberland's forces not appearing that day, that the army should cross the water of Nairn, and draw up in line of battle next day, upon the ground which had been surveyed; and that, should the Duke of Cumberland not venture to cross after them and engage them upon the ground in question, they might watch a favourable opportunity of attacking him with advantage. In the event of no such opportunity offering, his lordship said that he would recommend that the army should, with the view of drawing the duke after them, retire to the neighbouring mountains, where they might attack him at some pass or strong ground. This proposal met with the general approbation of the commanding officers; but Charles who, two days before (when a suggestion was made to him to retire to a strong position till all his army should assemble) had declared his resolution to attack the Duke of Cumberland even with a thousand men only, declined to accede to it. His grounds were that such a retrograde movement might discourage the men by impressing them with a belief that there existed a desire on the part of their commanders to shun the English army; that Inverness, which was now in their rear, would be exposed, and that the Duke of Cumberland might march upon that town, and possess himself of the greater part of their baggage and ammunition.

Concluding from the inactivity of the Duke of Cumberland that he had no intention of marching that day, Charles held a council of war in the afternoon to de-

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liberate upon the course it might be considered most advisable to pursue in consequence of the duke's stay at Nairn. According to Charles's own statement, he had formed the bold and desperate design of surprising the English army in their camp during the night; but, desirous of knowing the views of his officers before divulging his plan, he allowed all the members of the council to speak before him. After hearing the sentiments of the chiefs, and the other commanders who were present, Lord George Murray proposed to attack the Duke of Cumberland during the night, provided it was the general opinion that the attack could be made before one or two o'clock in the morning. Charles, overjoyed at the suggestion of his lieutenant-general, immediately embraced him, said that he approved of it, that in fact he had contemplated the measure himself, and that he did not intend to have disclosed it till all the members of the council had delivered their sentiments.

Had the army been in a condition to sustain the fatigue of a night march of ten or twelve miles, the plan of a night attack was unquestionably the best that could have been devised under existing circumstances. If surprised in the dark, no doubt can exist that the Duke of Cumberland's army would have been routed; but supposing the duke to have been on his guard, a night attack appeared to afford the only chance of getting the better of his superiority in numbers and discipline, and of rendering his cavalry and cannon, in which his chief strength lay, utterly useless. But the Highland army, from some unaccountable oversight on the part of the persons who had the charge of the commissariat department, was in a state bordering upon starvation, and consequently not able to perform such a fatiguing march. Although there was a quantity of meal in In-



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verness and the neighbourhood sufficient for a fortnight's consumption, no care had been taken to supply the men with an allowance on leaving Inverness, and the consequence was, that during this and the preceding day very few of them had tasted a particle of food. To appease their hunger a single biscuit was distributed to each man, but this pittance only increased the desire for more; and hunger getting the better of patience, some of the men began to leave the ranks in quest of provisions. In spite, however, of the deprivation under which they laboured, the army was never in higher spirits, or more desirous to meet the enemy; and it was not until all hopes of an immediate engagement were abandoned that the men thought of looking out for the means of subsistence.

The expediency of a night attack was admitted by all the members of the council, but there were a few who thought that it should not be ventured upon that night, and not until the arrival of the rest of the army, which might be expected in two or three days at farthest. Keppoch with his Highlanders had just come up and joined the army; but the Mackenzies under Lord Cromarty, a body of the Frasers whom the master of Lovat had collected to complete his second battalion, the Macphersons under Cluny, their chief, the Macgregors under Glengyle, a party headed by Mackinnon, and a body of Glengary's men under Barisdale, were still at a distance, though supposed to be all on their march to Inverness. The minority objected that, should they fail in the attempt, and be repulsed, it would be difficult to rally the Highlanders; that even supposing no spy should give the Duke of Cumberland notice of their approach, he might, if alarmed by any of his patrols, have time to put his army in order in his camp, place his cannon, charged

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with cartouch-shot, as he pleased, and get all his horse in readiness to pursue the Highlanders if beat off. Besides these objections they urged the difficulty of making a retreat if many of their men were wounded, from the aversion of the Highlanders to leave their wounded behind them. They, moreover, observed that they had no intelligence of the situation of the duke's camp; and that even could a safe retreat be made, the fatigue of marching forwards and backwards twenty miles would be too much for men to endure, who would probably have to fight next day.

All these arguments were however thrown away upon Charles, who, supported by the Duke of Perth, Lord George Murray, Lord John Drummond, Lochiel, and others, showed the utmost impatience for an immediate attack. The party who supported this view were not insensible to the danger which might ensue should the attack miscarry; but, strange to say, they were urged to it from the very cause to which the failure was chiefly owing, the want of provisions. Apprehensive that if the army was kept on the moor all night, many of the men would go away to a considerable distance in search of food, and that it would be very difficult to assemble them speedily in the event of a sudden alarm, they considered an immediate attack, particularly as Charles had resolved to fight without waiting for reinforcements, as a less desperate course than remaining where they were.

To prevent the Duke of Cumberland from obtaining any knowledge of the advance of the Highlanders from the spies who might be within view of his army, Charles fixed upon eight o'clock for his departure, by which time his motions would be concealed from observation by the obscurity of the evening. Meanwhile the commanding officers repaired to their respective

## BATTLE OF CULLODEN

regiments to put their men in readiness; but between six and seven o'clock an incident occurred which almost put an end to the enterprise. This was the departure of a large number of the men, who, ignorant of the intended march, went off towards Inverness and adjacent places to procure provisions and quarters for the night. Officers from the different regiments were immediately despatched on horseback to bring them back, but no persuasion could induce the men to return, who gave as their reason for refusing that they were starving. They told the officers that they might shoot them if they pleased, but that they would not go back till they got some provisions. By this defection Charles lost about two thousand men, being about a third of his army.

This occurrence completely changed the aspect of affairs, and every member of the council who had formerly advocated a night attack now warmly opposed it. Charles, bent upon his purpose, resolutely insisted upon the measure, and said that when the march was begun the men who had gone off would return and follow the rest. The confidence which he had in the bravery of his army blinded him to every danger, and he was prompted in his determination to persist in the attempt from an idea that Cumberland's army, having been that day engaged in celebrating the birthday of their commander, would after their debauch fall an easy prey to his Highlanders.

Finding the prince fully resolved to make the attempt at all hazards, the commanding officers took their stations, waiting the order to march. The watchword was, "King James the Eighth," and special instructions were issued to the army, that in making the attack the troops should not make use of their firearms, but confine themselves to their swords, dirks, and bayonets;

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and that on entering the Duke of Cumberland's camp they should cut the tent strings and pull down the poles, and that wherever they observed a swelling or bulge in the fallen covering, they should strike and push vigorously with their swords and dirks. Before marching, directions were given to several small parties to possess all the roads, in order to prevent any intelligence of their march being carried to the Duke of Cumberland.

In giving his orders to march, Charles embraced Lord George Murray, who immediately went off at the head of the line, about eight o'clock, preceded by two officers, and about thirty men of the Mackintosh regiment, who from their knowledge of the country were to act as guides. Though the whole army marched in one line, there was an interval in the middle as if it consisted of two columns. The Athole men led the van, and next to them were the Camerons who were followed by the other clans. The low country regiments, the French piquets, and the horse formed the rear. Lord John Drummond was in the centre, or at the head of the second column; and the Duke of Perth and Charles, who had Fitz-James's and other horse with him, were towards the rear. Besides the party of Mackintoshes, who served as guides in front, there were others of that clan stationed in the centre and rear, and generally along the line to prevent any of the men from losing their way in the dark. The plan of attack, as laid down by Lord George Murray, was this: The army was to have marched in a body till they passed the house of Kilraick or Kilravock, which is about ten miles from Culloden, on the direct road to Nairn. The army was then to have been separated, and while Lord George Murray crossed the River Nairn with the van, making about one-third of the army, and marched down by the south side of

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the river, the remainder of the army was to have continued its march along the north side till both divisions came near the duke's camp. The van was then to have re-crossed the river, and attacked the royal army from the south, while the other part was to have attacked it at the same time from the west. With the exception of Charles, who promised upon his honour not to divulge it to any person, and Anderson, who acted as guide at the battle of Preston, no person was made privy to the plan, as its success depended upon its secrecy. Had it been executed it might have proved ruinous to the duke's army, and perhaps fatal to the reigning dynasty.

In the outset of the march the van proceeded with considerable expedition, but it had gone scarcely half a mile when Lord George Murray received an express ordering him to halt till joined by the rear column, which was a considerable way behind. As a halt in the van always occasions a much longer one in the rear when the march is resumed, Lord George did not halt but slackened his pace to allow the rear to join. This, however, was to no purpose, as the rear still kept behind, and although, in consequence of numerous expresses enjoining him to wait, Lord George marched slower and slower, the rear fell still farther behind, and before he had marched six miles he had received at least fifty expresses ordering him either to halt or to slacken his pace. The chief cause of the stoppage was the badness of the roads.

About one o'clock in the morning, when the van was opposite to the house of Kilravock, Lord John Drummond came up to the van and stated to Lord George Murray that unless he halted or marched much slower with the van the rear would not be able to join. The Duke of Perth having shortly thereafter also come up to the front and given a similar assurance, his lordship

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halted near a small farmhouse called Yellow Know, belonging to Rose of Kilravock, nearly four miles from Nairn, and about a mile from the place where it was intended the van should cross the river. In the wood of Kilravock the march of the rear was greatly retarded by a long narrow defile occasioned partly by a stone wall; and so fatigued and faint had the men become, by the badness of the road, and want of food, that many of them, unable to proceed, lay down in the wood. This circumstance was announced to Lord George Murray by several officers who came up from the rear shortly after the van had halted. Mostly all the principal officers, including the Duke of Perth, Lord George Murray, Lord John Drummond, Lochiel, and General O'Sullivan, were now in the van, and having ascertained by their watches, which they looked at in a little house close by, that it was two o'clock in the morning, they at once perceived the impossibility of surprising the English army. The van was still upwards of three, and the rear about four miles from Nairn, and as they had only been able to advance hitherto at a rate little more than a mile in the hour, it was not to be expected that the army in its exhausted state would be able to accomplish the remainder of the distance, within the time prescribed, even at a more accelerated pace. By a quick march the army could not have advanced two miles before daybreak, so that the Duke of Cumberland would have had sufficient time to have put his army in fighting order before an attack could have been made. These were sufficient reasons of themselves for abandoning the enterprise, but when it is considered that the army had been greatly diminished during the march, and that scarcely one-half of the men that were drawn up the day before on Drummoissie moor remained, the propriety of a retreat becomes undoubted.

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Lord George Murray, who had never contemplated anything but a surprise, and whose calculation of reaching Nairn by two o'clock in the morning would have been realized had the whole line marched with the same celerity as the first four or five regiments, would have been perfectly justified in the unexpected situation in which he was placed to have at once ordered a retreat, but desirous of ascertaining the sentiments of the officers about him, he requested them to state their views of the course they thought it most advisable to adopt. There were several gentlemen present, who, having joined the Athole brigade as volunteers, had marched all night in the front; and as the Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond, and the other officers seemed at a loss what to resolve upon, Lord George Murray requested the volunteers to give their free opinion, as they were all equally interested in the consequences. Without hesitation all these gentlemen, eager to come to an engagement, were for marching, but most of the officers, particularly Lochiel and his brother, Doctor Cameron, were of a different opinion, in which they were backed by Lord George Murray, who observed that if they could have made the attack within the time prescribed, they would certainly have succeeded, especially if they could have surprised the enemy; but to attack in daylight an army that was near double their number, and which would be prepared to receive them, would be considered an act of madness.

Among the volunteers the most conspicuous was Mr. Hepburn of Keith. While arguing for an attack with Lord George Murray, the beating of a drum was heard in the Duke of Cumberland's camp. "Don't you hear," said Lord George; "the enemy are alarmed; we can't surprise them." "I never expected," said Hepburn, "to find the redcoats asleep; but they will



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be drunk after solemnizing the Duke of Cumberland's birthday. It is much better to march on and attack them than to retreat, for they will most certainly follow, and oblige us to fight when we shall be in a much worse condition to fight them than we are now." While this altercation was going on, Mr. John Hay, then acting as interim-secretary to the prince instead of Secretary Murray, who was unwell, came up and informed Lord George that the line had joined. Gathering from the conversation he overheard that a retreat was resolved upon, he began to argue against it, but being unsuccessful he immediately rode back to Charles, who was in the rear of the first column, and told him that unless he came to the front and ordered Lord George to go on nothing would be done. Charles, who was on horseback, rode forward immediately towards the front, to ascertain the cause of the halt, and on his way met the van in full retreat. He was no doubt surprised at this step, and in a temporary fit of irritation, is said to have remarked that Lord George Murray had betrayed him; but Lord George immediately convinced him "of the unavoidable necessity of retreating."

The army marched back in two columns, by a different but more direct route than that by which it had advanced. In returning they had a view of the fires in the Duke of Cumberland's camp. The greater part of the army arrived at Culloden, whither it had been agreed upon to proceed, about five o'clock in the morning, and the remainder did not remain long behind. The quick return of the army suggests an idea that had it marched in double columns towards Nairn by the shortest route, it might have reached its destination at least an hour sooner than the time contemplated by Lord George Murray, but there was great danger, that, by adopting such a course, the Duke of Cumberland would



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have obtained notice of the advance of the Highlanders.

On arriving at Culloden, the prince gave orders to bring provisions to the field; but the calls of hunger could not brook delay, and many of the common men as well as officers slipped off to Inverness and the neighbourhood in quest of refreshment. Others, from absolute exhaustion, lay down on the ground, and sought a momentary respite in the arms of sleep. Charles himself, with his principal officers, went to Culloden house, where, sullen, dejected, and silent, they for a time stared at one another with amazement, instead of deliberating upon the course they ought to pursue at this critical juncture. A search was made for food, but with the exception of a little bread and a small quantity of whisky, which was procured for the prince with great difficulty, no refreshment of any kind could be obtained.

After a short repose the men were aroused from their slumbers by their officers, who informed them that the Duke of Cumberland's army was approaching. There were others whom hunger had kept awake, and who having seized and killed some cattle and sheep which they found at Culloden, were preparing a repast, but few of them had time to make anything ready before the alarm was given. The intelligence of Cumberland's advance was first brought to Culloden house about eight o'clock by one Cameron, a lieutenant in Lochiel's regiment, who, having fallen asleep at the place where the halt was made, had been left behind. As Fitz-James's horse and others had gone to Inverness to refresh, and as those who remained were, from the hard duty they had performed for several days and nights, unfit for patrolling, Charles had no means of ascertaining whether the troops that were approaching were merely an advanced party, or the whole of the English army. That

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nothing might be left to conjecture at such an important crisis, some officers were instantly despatched to Inverness, to bring back the men whom hunger had driven thither, and the Highlanders at Culloden were got ready as quickly as possible, and marched through the parks of Culloden in battalions, as they happened to be lying, to Drum Mossie moor, on a part of which, about half a mile to the west of the place where they had been drawn up the day before, the army halted. Lord George Murray now renewed his proposal to pass the water of Nairn, and take up a position on the ground which had been surveyed the previous morning, as being much better fitted for Highlanders than the level on which they stood. An additional reason for passing the Nairn was, that Macpherson of Cluny, who was expected every moment with his clan, was to come on the south side. Charles, however, again rejected this judicious advice, for the reasons he had formerly given. By retiring beyond Inverness, or among the fastnesses, to the south of the water of Nairn, an action might have been easily avoided for several days; and, as the projected night attack had miscarried, it would certainly have been a wise course to have shunned an engagement, till the men had recovered their strength and spirits; but Charles, over-sanguine in all his calculations, and swayed by his creatures and sycophants, was deaf to the suggestions of wisdom. It seems strange that a retreat to Inverness was not proposed. By retiring into the town, and occupying the grounds in the neighbourhood, a delay of twenty-four hours might have been obtained, as it is not likely that the Duke of Cumberland would have attempted to force the town, or a strong camp, the same day he marched from Nairn. By postponing the engagement till next day, a very different result might have happened, as the Highlanders,

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who were in a starving condition, would have had time to procure provisions, and recruit from their fatigue; and numbers, who were not able to come up in time to Culloden, would have rejoined the ranks at Inverness.

The Duke of Cumberland had been informed of the night march towards Nairn by some Highland spies whom he had in his pay, and who had mixed with the insurgents as they marched; but the spies were ignorant of the intended surprise, which was kept a profound secret from the Highland army. Judging from the intelligence brought by the last person that arrived in his camp, that the Highlanders were coming directly in his front, the duke considered himself free from surprise, as the Argyleshire men lay on the plain to the west of his camp, while a party of dragoons patrolled all night between Nairn and the sea. He therefore ordered his men to take some rest, but to keep their arms in readiness. He appears not to have anticipated an attack during the night, but to have imagined that Charles merely meant to take ground during the night, and to attack him early next morning. In expectation of a battle, the duke had formed his army by break of day, and, having ascertained that the Highland army had retreated, he began his march towards Inverness about five o'clock. The English army had, as anticipated, celebrated the birthday of their commander; but although they were amply supplied with bread, cheese, and brandy, at the duke's expense, the men had not exceeded the bounds of moderation.

Before commencing the march, written instructions, which had been communicated to the commanders of the different regiments, were read at the head of every company in the line. These instructions were to this effect: that if the persons to whom the charge of the train or baggage horses was entrusted, should abscond or

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leave them, they should be punished with immediate death; and that if any officer or soldier misconducted himself during the engagement, he should be sentenced. The infantry marched in three parallel divisions or columns, of five regiments each, headed by General Huske on the left, Lord Sempill on the right, and General Mordaunt in the centre. The artillery and baggage followed the first column on the right, and the dragoons and horse, led by Generals Hawley and Bland, were on the left, forming a fourth column. Forty of Kingston's horse and the Argyleshire men formed the van.

The charge of forming the Highland army in line of battle, on this important occasion, was entrusted to O'Sullivan, who acted in the double capacity of adjutant and quartermaster-general. This officer, in the opinion of Lord George Murray, a high authority certainly, was exceedingly unfit for such a task, and committed gross blunders on every occasion of moment. In the present instance he did not even visit the ground where the army was to be drawn up, and he committed a "fatal error" by omitting to throw down some park walls upon the left of the English army, which were afterward taken possession of by the Duke of Cumberland, it being found afterward impossible to break the English lines, from the destructive flank-fire which was opened from these walls upon the right of the Highland army, as it advanced to the attack. While the Duke of Cumberland was forming his line of battle, Lord George Murray was very desirous to have advanced and thrown down these walls; but as such a movement would have broken the line, the officers about him considered that the attempt would be dangerous, and he therefore did not make it.

The Highland army was drawn up in three lines. The first, or front line, consisted of the Athole brigade,

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which had the right, the Camerons, Stewarts of Appin, John Roy Stewart's regiment, Frasers, Mackintoshes, Farquharsons, Maclachlans, and Macleans, united into one regiment; the Macleods, Chisholms, Macdonalds of Clanranald, Keppoch, and Glengary. The three Macdonald regiments formed the left. Lord George Murray commanded on the right, Lord John Drummond in the centre, and the Duke of Perth on the left, of the first line. There had been, a day or two before, a violent contention among the chiefs about precedency of rank. The Macdonalds claimed the right as their due, in support of which claim they stated, that as a reward for the fidelity of Angus Macdonald, Lord of the Isles, in protecting Robert the Bruce for upwards of nine months, in his dominions, that prince, at the battle of Bannockburn, conferred the post of honour, the right, upon the Macdonalds; that this post had ever since been enjoyed by them, unless when yielded from courtesy upon particular occasions, as was done to the chief of the Macleans at the battle of Harlaw. Lord George Murray, however, maintained that, under the Marquis of Montrose, the right had been assigned to the Athole men, and he insisted that that post should be now conferred upon them, in the contest with the Duke of Cumberland's army. In this unseasonable demand, Lord George is said to have been supported by Lochiel and his friends. Charles refused to decide a question with the merits of which he was imperfectly acquainted; but, as it was necessary to adjust the difference immediately, he prevailed upon the commanders of the Macdonald regiments to waive their pretensions in the present instance. The Macdonalds in general were far from being satisfied with the complaisance of their commanders, and, as they had occupied the post of honour at Gladsmuir and Falkirk, they considered their deprivation of it, on the present

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occasion, as ominous. The Duke of Perth, while he stood at the head of the Glengary regiment, hearing the murmurs of the Macdonalds, said, that if they behaved with their usual valour, they would make a right of the left, and that he would change his name to Macdonald; but these proud clansmen lent a deaf ear to him.

The second line of the Highland army consisted of the Gordons under Lord Lewis Gordon, formed in column on the right, the French Royal Scots, the Irish piquets or brigade, Lord Kilmarnock's foot-guards, Lord John Drummond's regiment, and Glenbucket's regiment in column on the left, flanked on the right by Fitz-James's dragoons, and Lord Elcho's horse-guards, and on the left by the Perth squadron, under Lords Strathallan and Pitsligo, and the prince's body-guards under Lord Balmerino. General Stapleton had the command of this line. The third line, or reserve, consisted of the Duke of Perth's and Lord Ogilvy's regiments, under the last-mentioned nobleman. The prince himself, surrounded by a troop of Fitz-James's horse, took his station on a very small eminence behind the centre of the first line, from which he had a complete view of the whole field of battle. The extremities of the front line and the centre were each protected by four pieces of cannon.

The English army continued steadily to advance in the order already described, and, after a march of eight miles, formed in order of battle, in consequence of the advanced guard reporting that they perceived the Highland army at some distance making a motion towards them on the left. Finding, however, that the Highlanders were still at a considerable distance, and that the whole body did not move forward, the Duke of Cumberland resumed his march as before, and continued to advance till within a mile of the position occupied

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by the Highland army, when he ordered a halt, and, after reconnoitring the position of the Highlanders, again formed his army for battle in three lines, and in the following order.

The first line consisted of six regiments, viz., the Royals (the 1st), Cholmondley's (the 34th), Price's (the 14th), the Scots Fusileers (the 21st), Monro's (the 37th), and Barrel's (the 4th). The Earl of Albemarle had the command of this line. In the intermediate spaces between each of these regiments were placed two pieces of cannon, making ten in whole. The second line, which consisted of five regiments, comprised those of Pulteney (the 13th), Bligh (the 20th), Sempil (the 25th), Ligonier (the 48th), and Wolfe's (the 8th), and was under the command of General Huske. Three pieces of cannon were placed between the exterior regiments of this line and those next them. The third line, or *corps de reserve*, under Brigadier Mordaunt, consisted of four regiments, viz., Battereau's (the 62d), Howard's (the 3d), Fleming's (the 36th), and Blakeney's (the 27th), flanked by Kingston's dragoons (the 3d). The order in which the regiments of the different lines are enumerated is that in which they stood from right to left. The flanks of the front line were protected on the left by Ker's dragoons (the 11th), consisting of three squadrons, commanded by Lord Ancrum, and on the right by Cobham's dragoons (the 10th), consisting also of three squadrons, under General Bland, with the additional security of a morass, extending towards the sea; but thinking himself quite safe on the right, the duke afterward ordered these last to the left, to aid in an intended attack upon the right flank of the Highlanders. The Argyle men, with the exception of 140, who were upon the left of the reserve, were left in charge of the baggage.



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The dispositions of both armies are considered to have been well arranged; but both were better calculated for defence than for attack. The arrangement of the English army is generally considered to have been superior to that of the Highlanders, as, from the regiments in the second and third lines being placed directly behind the vacant spaces between the regiments in the lines respectively before them, the Duke of Cumberland, in the event of one regiment in the front line being broken, could immediately bring up two to supply its place. But this opinion is questionable, as the Highlanders had a column on the flanks of the second line, which might have been used either for extension or eschellon movement towards any point to the centre, to support either the first or second line.

In the dispositions described, and about the distance of a mile from each other, did the two armies stand for some time gazing at one another, each expecting that the other would advance and give battle. Whatever may have been the feelings of Prince Charles on this occasion, those of the Duke of Cumberland appear to have been far from enviable. The thoughts of Preston and Falkirk could not fail to excite in him the most direful apprehensions for the result of a combat affecting the very existence of his father's crown; and that he placed but a doubtful reliance upon his troops is evident from a speech which he now made to his army. He began by informing them, that they were about to fight in defence of their king, their religion, their liberties, and property, and that if they only stood firm he had no doubt he would lead them on to certain victory; but as he would much rather, he said, be at the head of one thousand brave and resolute men than of ten thousand if mixed with cowards, he added, that if there were any amongst them, who, through timidity, were



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diffident of their courage, or others, who, from conscience or inclination, felt a repugnance to perform their duty, he requested them to retire immediately, and he promised them his free pardon for doing so, as by remaining they might dispirit or disorder the other troops, and bring dishonour and disgrace on the army under his command.

As the Highlanders remained in their position, the Duke of Cumberland again put his army in marching order, and, after it had advanced, with fixed bayonets, within half a mile of the front line of the Highlanders, it again formed as before. In this last movement the English army had to pass a piece of hollow ground, which was so soft and swampy, that the horses which drew the cannon sunk; and some of the soldiers, after slinging their firelocks and unyoking the horses, had to drag the cannon across the bog. As by this last movement the army advanced beyond the morass which protected the right flank, the duke immediately ordered up Kingston's horse from the reserve, and a small squadron of Cobham's dragoons, which had been patrolling, to cover it; and to extend his line, and prevent his being outflanked on the right, he also at same time ordered up Pulteney's regiment (the 13th), from the second line to the right of the royals; and Fleming's (the 36th), Howard's (the 3d), and Battereau's (the 62d), to the right of Bligh's (the 20th), in the second line, leaving Blakeney's (the 27th) as a reserve.

During an interval of about half an hour which elapsed before the action commenced, some manœuvring took place in attempts by both armies to outflank one another. While these manœuvres were making, a heavy shower of sleet came on, which, though discouraging to the duke's army, from the recollection of the untoward occurrence at Falkirk, was not considered very danger-

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ous, as they had now the wind in their backs. To encourage his men, the Duke of Cumberland rode along the lines addressing himself hurriedly to every regiment as he passed. He exhorted his men to rely chiefly upon their bayonets, and to allow the Highlanders to mingle with them that they might make them "know the men they had to deal with." After the changes mentioned had been executed, his royal highness took his station behind the royals, between the first and second line, and almost in front of the left of Howard's regiment, waiting for the expected attack. Meanwhile, a singular occurrence took place, characteristic of the self-devotion which the Highlanders were ready on all occasions to manifest towards the prince and his cause. Conceiving that by assassinating the Duke of Cumberland he would confer an essential service to the prince, a Highlander resolved, at the certain sacrifice of his own life, to make the attempt. With this intention, he entered the English lines as a deserter, and being granted quarter, was allowed to go through the ranks. He wandered about with apparent indifference, eyeing the different officers as he passed along, and it was not long till an opportunity occurred, as he conceived, for executing his fell purpose. The duke having ordered Lord Bury, one of his aides-de-camp, to reconnoitre, his lordship crossed the path of the Highlander, who, mistaking him, from his dress, for the duke (the regimentals of both being similar), instantly seized a musket which lay on the ground, and discharged it at his lordship. Fortunately he missed his aim, and a soldier who was standing by immediately shot him dead upon the spot.

In expectation of a battle the previous day, Charles had animated his troops by an appeal to their feelings, and on the present occasion he rode from rank to rank

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encouraging his men, and exhorting them to act as they had done at Prestonpans and at Falkirk.

The advance of Lord Bury, who went forward within a hundred yards of the insurgents to reconnoitre, appears to have been considered by the Highlanders as the proper occasion for beginning the battle. Taking off their bonnets, the Highlanders set up a loud shout, which being answered by the royal troops with an huzza, the Highlanders about one o'clock commenced a cannonade on the right, which was followed by the cannon on the left; but the fire from the last, owing to the want of cannoneers, was after the first round discontinued. The first volley from the right seemed to create some confusion on the left of the royal army, but so badly were the cannon served and pointed, that though the cannonade was continued upwards of half an hour, only one man in Bligh's regiment, who had a leg carried off by a cannon-ball, received any injury. After the Highlanders had continued firing for a short time, Colonel Belford, who directed the cannon of the duke's army, opened a fire from the cannon in the front line, which was at first chiefly aimed at the horse, probably either because they, from their conspicuous situation, were a better mark than the infantry, or because it was supposed that Charles was among them. Such was the accuracy of the aim taken by the royal artillery, that several balls entered the ground among the horses' legs, and bespattered the prince with the mud which they raised; and one of them struck the horse on which he rode two inches above the knee. The animal became so unmanageable, that Charles was obliged to change him for another. One of his servants, who stood behind with a led horse in his hand, was killed on the spot. Observing that the wall on the right flank of the Highland army prevented him from attacking

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it on that point, the duke ordered Colonel Belford to continue the cannonade, with the view of provoking the Highlanders and inducing them to advance to the attack. These, on the other hand, endeavoured to draw the royal army forward by sending down several parties by way of defiance. Some of these approached three several times within a hundred yards of the right of the royal army, firing their pistols and brandishing their swords; but with the exception of the small squadron of horse on the right, which advanced a little, the line remained immovable.

Meanwhile, Lord George Murray, observing that a squadron of the English dragoons and a party of foot, consisting of two companies of the Argyleshire men, and one of Lord Loudon's Highlanders, had detached themselves from the left of the royal army, and were marching down towards the river Nairn, and conceiving that it was their intention to flank the Highlanders, or to come upon their rear when engaged in front, he directed Gordon of Avochy to advance with his battalion, and prevent the foot from entering the enclosure; but before this battalion could reach them, they broke into the enclosure, and throwing down part of the east wall, and afterward a piece of the west wall in the rear of the second line, made a free passage for the dragoons, who formed in the rear of the prince's army. Upon this, Lord George ordered the guards and Fitz-James's horse to form opposite to the dragoons to keep them in check. Each party stood upon the opposite sides of a ravine, the ascent to which was so steep, that neither could venture across in presence of the other with safety. The foot remained within the enclosure, and Avochy's battalion was ordered to watch their motions. This movement took place about the time the Highlanders were moving forward to the attack.

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It was now high time for the Highlanders to come to a close engagement. Lord George had sent Colonel Ker to the prince, to know if he should begin the attack, which the prince accordingly ordered; but his lordship, for some reason or other, delayed advancing. It is probable he expected that the duke would come forward, and that by doing so, and retaining the wall and a small farmhouse on his right, he would not run the risk of being flanked. Perhaps he waited for the advance of the left wing, which, being not so far forward as the right, was directed to begin the attack, and orders had been sent to the Duke of Perth to that effect; but the left remained motionless. Anxious for the attack, Charles sent an order by an aide-de-camp to Lord George Murray to advance, but his lordship never received it, as the bearer was killed by a cannon-ball while on his way to the right. He sent a message about the same time to Lochiel, desiring him to urge upon Lord George the necessity of an immediate attack.

Galled beyond endurance by the fire of the English, which carried destruction among the clans, the Highlanders became quite clamorous, and called aloud to be led forward without further delay. Unable any longer to restrain their impatience, Lord George had just resolved upon an immediate advance, but before he had time to issue the order along the line, the Mackintoshes, with a heroism worthy of that brave clan, rushed forward enveloped in the smoke of the enemy's cannon. The fire of the centre field-pieces, and a discharge of musketry from the Scotch fusileers, forced them to incline a little to the right; but all the regiments to their right, led on by Lord George Murray in person, and the united regiment of the Maclauchlans and Macleans on their left, coming down close after them, the whole moved forward together at a pretty quick pace. When

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within pistol-shot of the English line, they received a murderous fire, not only in front from some field-pieces, which for the first time were now loaded with grape-shot, but in flank from a side battery supported by the Campbells, and Lord Loudon's Highlanders. Whole ranks were literally swept away by the terrible fire of the English. Yet, notwithstanding the dreadful carnage in their ranks, the Highlanders continued to advance, and, after giving their fire close to the English line, which, from the density of the smoke, was scarcely perceptible even within pistol-shot, the right wing, consisting of the Athole Highlanders and the Camerons, rushed in sword in hand, and broke through Barrel's and Monroe's regiments, which stood on the left of the first line. These regiments bravely defended themselves with their spontoons and bayonets, but such was the impetuosity of the onset, that they would entirely have been cut to pieces had they not been immediately supported by two regiments from the second line, on the approach of which they retired behind the regiments on their right, after sustaining a loss in killed and wounded of upwards of two hundred men. After breaking through these two regiments, the Highlanders, passing by the two field-pieces which had annoyed them in front, hurried forward to attack the left of the second line. They were met by a tremendous fire of grape-shot from the three field-pieces on the left of the second line, and by a discharge of musketry from Bligh's and Sempill's regiments, which carried havoc through their ranks, and made them at first recoil; but, maddened by despair, and utterly regardless of their lives, they rushed upon an enemy whom they felt but could not see, amid the cloud of smoke in which the assailants were buried. The same kind of charge was made by the Stewarts of Appin, the Frasers, Mackintoshes, and

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the other centre regiments upon the regiments in their front, which they drove back upon the second line, which they also attempted to break; but finding themselves unable they gave up the contest, but not until numbers had been cut down at the mouths of the cannon. While advancing towards the second line, Lord George Murray, in attempting to dismount from his horse, which had become unmanageable, was thrown; but, recovering himself, he ran to the rear and brought up two or three regiments from the second line to support the first; but although they gave their fire, nothing could be done, — all was lost. Unable to break the second line, and being greatly cut up by the fire of Wolfe's regiment, and by Cobham's and Ker's dragoons, who had formed *en potence* on their right flank, the right wing also gave up the contest, and turning about, cut their way back, sword in hand, through those who had advanced and formed on the ground they had passed over in charging to their front.

In consequence of the unwillingness of the left to advance first as directed, Lord George Murray had sent the order to attack from right to left; but, hurried by the impetuosity of the Mackintoshes, the right and centre did not wait till the order, which required some minutes in the delivery, had been communicated along the line. Thus the right and centre had the start considerably, and quickening their pace as they went along, had closed with the front line of the English army before the left had got half-way over the ground that separated the two armies. The difference between the right and centre and the left was rendered still more considerable from the circumstance, as noted by an eye-witness, that the two armies were not exactly parallel to one another, the right of the prince's army being nearer the duke's army than the left. Nothing could be more



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unfortunate for the prince than this isolated attack, as it was only by a general shock of the whole of the English line that he had any chance of a victory.

The clan regiments on the left of the line, apprehensive that they would be flanked by Pulteney's regiment and the horse which had been brought up from the *corps de reserve*, did not advance sword in hand. After receiving the fire of the regiments opposite to them, they answered it by a general discharge, and drew their swords for the attack; but observing that the right and centre had given way, they turned their backs and fled without striking a blow. Stung to the quick by the misconduct of the Macdonalds, the brave Keppoch, seeing himself abandoned by his clan, advanced with his drawn sword in one hand, and his pistol in the other; but he had not proceeded far, when he was brought down to the ground by a musket-shot. He was followed by Donald Roy Macdonald, formerly a lieutenant in his own regiment, and now a captain in Clanranald's regiment, who, on his falling, entreated him not to throw away his life, assuring him that his wound was not mortal, and that he might easily join his regiment in the retreat; but Keppoch refused to listen to the solicitations of his clansman, and, after recommending him to take care of himself, the wounded chief received another shot, and fell to rise no more.

Fortunately for the Highlanders the English army did not follow up the advantages it had gained by an immediate pursuit. Kingston's horse at first followed the Macdonalds, some of whom were almost surrounded by them, but the horse were kept in check by the French piquets, who brought them off. The dragoons on the left of the English line were in like manner kept at bay by Ogilvy's regiment, which faced about upon them several times. After these ineffectual attempts, the



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English cavalry on the right and left met in the centre, and the front line having dressed its ranks, orders were issued for the whole to advance in pursuit of the Highlanders.

Charles, who, from the small eminence on which he stood, had observed with the deepest concern the defeat and flight of the clan regiments, was about proceeding forward to rally them contrary to the earnest entreaties of Sir Thomas Sheridan and others, who assured him that he would not succeed. All their expostulations would, it is said, have been vain, had not General O'Sullivan laid hold of the bridle of Charles's horse, and led him off the field. It was, indeed, full time to retire, as the whole army was now in full retreat, and was followed by the whole of Cumberland's forces. To protect the prince, and secure his retreat, most of his horse assembled about his person; but there was little danger, as the victors advanced very leisurely, and confined themselves to cutting down some defenceless stragglers who fell in their way. After leaving the field, Charles put himself at the head of the right wing, which retired in such order, that the cavalry sent to pursue upon it could make no impression.

At a short distance from the field of battle, Charles separated his army into two parts. One of these divisions, consisting, with the exception of the Frasers, of the whole of the Highlanders, and the low country regiments, crossed the water of Nairn, and proceeded towards Badenoch; and the other comprising the Frasers, Lord John Drummond's regiment, and the French piquets, took the road to Inverness. The first division passed within pistol-shot of the body of English cavalry, which, before the action, had formed in the rear of the Highland army, without the least interruption. An English officer, who had the temerity to advance

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a few paces to seize a Highlander, was instantly cut down by him and killed on the spot. The Highlander, instead of running away, deliberately stooped down, and pulling out a watch from the pocket of his victim, rejoined his companions. From the plainness of the ground over which it had to pass, the smaller body of the prince's army was less fortunate, as it suffered considerably from the attacks of the duke's light horse before it reached Inverness. Numerous small parties, which had detached themselves from the main body, fell under the sabres of the cavalry; and many of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood, who, from motives of curiosity, had come out to witness the battle, were slaughtered without mercy by the ferocious soldiery, who, from the similarity of their dress, were, perhaps, unable to discriminate them from Charles's troops. This indiscriminate massacre continued all the way from the field of battle to a place called Millburn, within a mile of Inverness. Not content with the profusion of bloodshed in the heat of action and during the pursuit, the infuriated soldiery, provoked by their disgraces at Preston and Falkirk, traversed the field of battle, and massacred, in cold blood, the miserable wretches who lay maimed and expiring. Even some officers, whose station in society, apart altogether from the feelings of humanity, to which they were utter strangers, should have made them superior to this vulgar triumph of base and illiberal minds, joined in the works of assassination. To extenuate the atrocities committed on the battle, and the subsequent slaughters, a forged regimental order bearing to be signed by Lord George Murray, by which the Highlanders were enjoined to refuse quarters to the royal troops, was afterward published under the auspices of the Duke of Cumberland; but the deception was easily seen through. As no such order

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was alluded to in the official accounts of the battle, and as, at the interview which took place between the Earl of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino on the morning of their execution, both these noblemen stated their entire ignorance of it, no doubt whatever can exist of the forgery. The conduct of Charles and his followers, who never indulged in any triumph over their vanquished foes, but always treated them with humanity and kindness, high as it is, stands still higher when contrasted with that of the royal troops and their commander.

From the characteristic bravery of the Highlanders, and their contempt of death, it is not improbable that some of those who perished, as well on the field after the battle, as in the flight, did not yield their lives without a desperate struggle; but history has preserved one case of individual prowess in the person of Golice Macbane, which deserves to be recorded in every history relating to the Highlanders. This man, who is represented to have been of the gigantic stature of six feet four inches and a quarter, was beset by a party of dragoons. When assailed, he placed his back against a wall, and though covered with wounds, he defended himself with his target and claymore against the onset of the dragoons, who crowded upon him. Some officers, who observed the unequal conflict, were so struck with the desperate bravery of Macbane, that they gave orders to save him; but the dragoons, exasperated by his resistance, and the dreadful havoc he had made among their companions, thirteen of whom lay dead at his feet, would not desist till they had succeeded in cutting him down.

According to the official accounts published by the government, the royal army had only fifty men killed, and 259 wounded, including eighteen officers, of whom four were killed. Lord Robert Ker, second son of the

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Marquis of Lothian, and a captain of grenadiers, in Barrel's regiment, was the only person of distinction killed. He fell covered with wounds, at the head of his company, when the Highlanders attacked Barrel's regiment. The loss on the side of the Highlanders was never ascertained with any degree of precision. The number of the slain is stated, in some publications of the period, to have amounted to upwards of two thousand men, but these accounts are exaggerated. The loss could not, however, be much short of twelve hundred men. The Athole brigade alone lost more than the half of its officers and men, and some of the centre battalions came off with scarcely a third of their men. The Mackintoshes, who were the first to attack, suffered most. With the exception of three only, all the officers of this brave regiment, including Macgillivray of Drumnaglass, its colonel, the lieutenant-colonel, and major, were killed in the attack. All the other centre regiments also lost several officers. Maclachlan, colonel of the united regiment of Maclauchlan and Maclean, was killed by a cannon-ball in the beginning of the action, and Maclean of Drimmin, who, as lieutenant-colonel, succeeded to the command, met a similar fate from a random shot. He had three sons in the regiment, one of whom fell in the attack, and when leading off the shattered remains of his forces, he missed the other two, and in returning to look after them, received the fatal bullet. Charles Fraser, younger of Inverallachie, the lieutenant-colonel of the Fraser regiment, and who, in the absence of the master of Lovat, commanded it on this occasion, was also killed. When riding over the field after the battle, the Duke of Cumberland observed this brave youth lying wounded. Raising himself upon his elbow, he looked at the duke, who, offended at him, thus addressed one of his officers: "Wolfe,

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shoot me that Highland scoundrel who thus dares to look on us with so insolent a stare." Wolfe, horrified at the inhuman order, replied, that his commission was at his Royal Highness's disposal, but that he would never consent to become an executioner. Other officers refusing to commit this act of butchery, a private soldier, at the command of the duke, shot the hapless youth before his eyes. The Appin regiment had seventeen officers and gentlemen slain, and ten wounded; and the Athole brigade, which lost fully half its men, had nineteen officers killed, and four wounded. The fate of the heroic Keppoch has already been mentioned. Among the wounded, the principal was Lochiel, who was shot in both ankles with some grape-shot, at the head of his regiment, after discharging his pistol, and while in the act of drawing his sword. On falling, his two brothers, between whom he was advancing, raised him up, and carried him off the field in their arms. To add to his misfortunes, Charles also lost a considerable number of gentlemen, his most devoted adherents, who had charged on foot in the first rank.

Lord Strathallan was the only person of distinction that fell among the low country regiments. Lord Kilmarnock and Sir John Wedderburn were taken prisoners. The former, in the confusion of the battle, mistook, amidst the smoke, a party of English dragoons for Fitz-James's horse, and was taken. Having lost his hat, he was led bareheaded to the front line of the English infantry. His son, Lord Boyd, who held a commission in the English army, unable to restrain his feelings, left the ranks, and, going up to his unfortunate parent, took off his own hat, placed it on his father's head, and returned to his place without uttering a word. This moving scene brought a tear from many an eye.

At other times, and under different circumstances,

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a battle like that of Culloden would have been regarded as an ordinary occurrence, of which, when all matters were duly considered, the victors could have little to boast. The Highland army did not exceed five thousand fighting men; and when it is considered that the men had been two days without sleep, were exhausted by the march of the preceding night, and had scarcely tasted food for forty-eight hours, the wonder is that they fought so well as they did, against an army almost double in point of numbers, and which laboured under none of the disadvantages to which, in a more especial manner, the overthrow of the Highlanders is to be ascribed. Nevertheless, as the spirits of the great majority of the nation had been sunk to the lowest state of despondency, by the reverses of the royal arms at Preston and Falkirk, this unlooked for event was hailed as one of the greatest military achievements of ancient or modern times; and the Duke of Cumberland, who had, in consequence, an addition of £25,000 per annum made to his income by Parliament, was regarded as the greatest hero of ancient or modern times. In its consequences, as entirely and for ever destructive of the claims of the unfortunate house of Stuart, the battle was perhaps one of the most important ever fought; but neither the duke nor his men are greatly to be lauded for their prowess; and they sullied, by their barbarity, any glory they obtained on the field. Though vanquished, the Highlanders retired from the field with honour, and free from that foul reproach which has fixed an indelible stain upon the memories of the victors.

After the carnage of the day had ceased, the brutal soldiery, who, from the fiendish delight which they took in sprinkling one another with the blood of the slain, "looked," as stated by one of themselves, "like so many butchers rather than an army of Christian sol-

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diers," dined upon the field of battle. After his men had finished their repast, the Duke of Cumberland marched forward to take possession of Inverness, and on his way received a letter, which had been addressed to General Bland, signed by six of the French officers in the insurgent army, offering in behalf of themselves and their men to surrender unconditionally to his Royal Highness. As he was about to enter the town he was met by a drummer, who brought him a message from General Stapleton, offering to surrender and asking quarter. On receiving this communication, the duke ordered Sir Joseph Yorke, one of his officers, to alight from his horse, who with his pencil wrote a note to General Stapleton, assuring him of fair quarter and honourable treatment. The town was then taken possession of by Captain Campbell, of Sempill's regiment, with his company of grenadiers.

## CHAPTER II

### SUPPRESSION OF THE REBELLION

AFTER securing his prisoners in the town, the Duke of Cumberland released the soldiers who had been confined in the church of Inverness by the insurgents, and who, if the government accounts be correct, had suffered great hardships. They had indeed, about a week before the battle of Culloden, been almost stripped of their clothes by an officer of the Highland army, to clothe a new corps he had raised; but a complaint having been brought to Lord George Murray on the subject, he obtained an order from the prince, in consequence of which the clothes were restored. The duke on the present occasion presented each of these men with a guinea, and gave orders that they should be taken care of.

Besides the military prisoners, several gentlemen supposed to be disaffected to the government were apprehended by the duke's orders, shut up with the common prisoners, and were for some time denied the use of bedding. Nor did the softer sex, whose Jacobite predilections had pointed them out as objects of displeasure, escape his resentment. Several of these ladies, among whom were Ladies Ogilvy, Kinlock, and Gordon, were seized and kept in durance in the common guard, and were limited along with the other prisoners to the miserable pittance of half a pound of meal per day, with scarcely as much water as was necessary to prepare it for use. As the wounded prisoners were utterly neglected, many who would have recovered, if

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properly treated, died of their wounds; and so much were the rites of Christian sepulture disregarded by the duke and his officers, that the bodies of these unfortunate victims were carried naked through the streets by beggars, who were employed to inter them in the churchyard.

Knowing that there were several deserters from the royal army among the insurgents, the duke ordered a strict inspection to be made of the prisoners in order to find them out. No less than thirty-six were recognized, and being brought to a summary trial, were convicted, and suffered the death of traitors. Among these was one Dunbar, who had been a sergeant in Sowle's regiment. He had taken a suit of laced clothes from Major Lockhart at the battle of Falkirk, which being found in his possession, he was dressed in them, and hanged, and his body exposed for forty-eight hours on the gibbet. A young gentleman of the name of Forbes, a relative of Lord Forbes, is also said to have perished on this occasion. He had served as a cadet in an English regiment, but, being from principle attached to the Jacobite interest, had joined the standard of the prince. An incident occurred after the execution of this unfortunate gentleman, which assumed an alarming appearance, and might have led to serious consequences had the war been continued. Before Forbes was cut down from the gibbet, an English officer, with a morbidness of feeling which seems to have seized the officers as well as the common soldiers of the army, plunged his sword into the body of Forbes, exclaiming, at the same time, that "all his countrymen were traitors and rebels like himself." This exclamation being heard by a Scottish officer who was standing by, the offended Scotchman immediately drew his sword, and demanded satisfaction for the insult offered to his country. The Englishman instantly ac-

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cepted the challenge, and in a short time the combat became general among the officers who happened to be on the spot. The soldiers, seeing their officers engaged, beat to arms of their own accord, and drew up along the streets, the Scotch on one side and the English on the other, and commenced a warm combat with fixed bayonets. Information of this affray having been brought to the Duke of Cumberland, he hastened to the scene of action, and by his persuasions put an end to the combat. He found the Scotch greatly excited by the affront offered them; but he soothed their wounded feelings by complimenting them for their fidelity, their courage, and exemplary conduct.

Notwithstanding the massacres which were committed immediately after the battle, a considerable number of wounded Highlanders still survived, some of whom had taken refuge in some cottages adjoining the field of battle, while others lay scattered among the neighbouring enclosures. Many of these men might have recovered if ordinary attention had been paid to them; but the flinty-hearted duke, considering that those who had risen in arms against his father were not entitled to the rights of humanity, entirely neglected them. But, barbarous as such conduct was, it was only the prelude to enormities of a still more revolting description. At first the victors conceived that they had completed the work of death by killing all the wounded they could discover; but when they were informed that some still survived, they resolved to despatch them. A Mr. Hossack, who had filled the situation of provost of Inverness, and who had, under the direction of President Forbes, performed important services to the government, having gone to pay his respects to the Duke of Cumberland, found Generals Hawley and Huske deliberating on this inhuman design. Observing them intent upon their object, and

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actually proceeding to make out orders for killing the wounded Highlanders, he ventured to remonstrate against such a barbarous step. "As his Majesty's troops have been happily successful against the rebels, I hope," observed Hossack, "your Excellencies will be so good as to mingle mercy with judgment." Hawley, in a rage, cried out, "D—n the puppy! does he pretend to dictate here? Carry him away!" Another officer ordered Hossack to be kicked out, and the order was obeyed with such instantaneous precision, that the ex-provost found himself at the bottom of two flights of steps almost in a twinkling.

In terms of the cruel instructions alluded to, a party was despatched from Inverness the day after the battle to put to death all the wounded they might find in the enclosures adjoining the field of Culloden. These orders were fulfilled with a punctuality and deliberation known till then only among savages. Instead of despatching their unfortunate victims on the spot where they found them, these barbarians dragged them from the places where they lay weltering in their gore, and, having ranged them on some spots of rising ground, poured in volleys of musketry upon them. Next day parties were sent to search all the houses in the neighbourhood of the field of battle, with instructions to carry all the wounded Highlanders they could find thither and despatch them. Many were in consequence murdered; and the young laird of Macleod was heard frankly to declare, that on this occasion he himself saw seventy-two persons killed in cold blood. The feelings of humanity were not, however, altogether obliterated in the hearts of some of the officers, who spared a few of the wounded. In one instance the savage cruelty of the soldiery was strikingly exemplified. At a short distance from the field of battle there stood a small

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hut, used for sheltering sheep and goats in cold and stormy weather, into which some of the wounded had crawled. On discovering them the soldiers immediately secured the door, to prevent egress, and thereupon set fire to the hut in several places, and all the persons within, to the number of between thirty and forty, perished in the flames.

Another instance of fiendish cruelty occurred the same day. Almost immediately after the battle, nineteen wounded officers of the Highland army, unable to follow their retiring companions, secreted themselves in a small plantation near Culloden house, whence they were afterward carried to the courtyard of that mansion, where they remained two days in great torture weltering in their blood, and without the least medical aid or attention but such as they received from the president's steward, who, at the hazard of his own life, alleviated the sufferings of his unhappy countrymen by several acts of kindness. These wretched sufferers were now tied with ropes by the brutal soldiery, thrown into carts, and carried out to a park wall at a short distance from Culloden house. Being dragged out of the carts, they were ranged in order along the wall, and were told by the officer in command of the party to prepare for death. Such of them as retained the use of their limbs fell down upon their knees in prayer; but they had little time allowed them to invoke mercy; for in a minute the soldiers received orders to fire, and, being posted at the distance of only two or three yards from the prisoners, the unfortunate gentlemen were almost all instantly shot dead. That the butchery might be complete, the soldiers were ordered to club their muskets and dash out the brains of such of their miserable victims as exhibited any symptoms of life, an order which, horrible to tell, was actually fulfilled. A gentleman named John Fraser,

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who had been an officer in the master of Lovat's regiment, alone survived. He had received a ball, and, being observed to be still in life, was struck on the face by a soldier with the butt-end of his musket. Though one of his cheek bones and the upper part of his nose were broken, and one of his eyes dashed out by the blow, he still lived, and the party, thinking they had killed him, left him for dead. He would probably have expired on the spot, had not the attention of Lord Boyd, son of the Earl of Kilmarnock, when riding past, been fortunately attracted by the number of dead bodies he observed lying together. Espying, at a little distance from the heap, a body in motion, his lordship went up, and having ascertained from the mouth of the sufferer who he was, he ordered his servant to carry Mr. Fraser to a cottage, near at hand, which he named, where he lay concealed for three months. He lived several years afterward, but was a cripple during life.

By the capture of Inverness, a considerable quantity of ordnance and military stores fell into the hands of the royal army. Including those taken on the field of battle, there were thirty pieces of cannon, 2,320 firelocks, 190 broadswords, a large quantity of musket cartridges, 1,019 cannon-balls, a quantity of musket shot, thirty-seven barrels of gunpowder, and twenty-two ammunition carts, besides tents, cantines, pistols, saddles, etc. To encourage the soldiers to collect the arms which the Highlanders had left on the field, they were allowed half a crown for every musket, and a shilling for every broadsword which they brought into the camp at Inverness. For every stand of colours the sum of sixteen guineas was allowed, and no less than fourteen of these were captured or picked up upon the field, all of which were burnt on the fourth of June at the market-cross of Edinburgh by the hands of the

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common hangman, after being carried in mock procession from the castle by a party of chimney-sweeps.

Two days after the battle, the Earl of Cromarty, his son, Lord Macleod, several officers, and 153 private men, were landed at Inverness from the *Hound* sloop of war, which had conveyed them from Sutherland, where they had been taken prisoners by a party of Lord Sutherland's people, on the preceding day, viz., the fifteenth of April, under the following circumstances. Having received instructions to rejoin the main body of the Highland army at Inverness, the earl was about proceeding to fulfil them, when a plan was formed by the Mackays and the Earl of Sutherland's people to cut him off. Uniting their forces, consisting of three independent companies, near Golspie, they resolved to attack the Earl of Cromarty, early in the morning of the fifteenth of April, in flank and in rear. In pursuance of this resolution, Captain Macallister, who commanded the Earl of Sutherland's militia, marched with his company towards the water of Golspie, and having in his march received intelligence that Cromarty's regiment had marched towards the ferry, but that the earl himself with the greater part of his officers was at Dunrobin castle, he sent Ensign John Mackay with a party of twenty-six men to intercept him. The earl left the castle with fourteen officers on horseback, and a small party of well-armed foot, to join his men, and would have fallen into an ambuscade which Ensign Mackay had laid for him, had not some of the Mackays begun to fire too soon. Lord Cromarty immediately retraced his steps and took refuge in the castle, from the top of the tower of which he displayed a white flag and rang a bell, as a signal that he was attacked. The earl's men began immediately to march back to his relief, upon which Mackay and his party retired to the adjacent



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high grounds. Meanwhile, the two independent companies, which were to attack Cromarty's men in flank, arrived at the hill of Culmaly, to the northwest of Golspie, and observing the insurgents returning from the ferry, and drawing up in order of battle on a rising ground about a mile west from Golspie, they concealed themselves on the top of the hill. Captains Gray and Sutherland, the commanders of the two companies, then descended the hill to reconnoitre. They computed Cromarty's force to be between four and five hundred men; and, having resolved to attack them, they returned to their men, and gave orders to that effect. To deceive the insurgents as to the extent of their numbers, they marched down the hill in open column, keeping a distance of about twenty paces between each rank; and so well did this ruse succeed, that the insurgents, struck with a panic, fled towards the ferry, and were pursued by the two companies, who, attacking them in flank, killed a considerable number, and took 178 prisoners. The two companies thereupon marched to Dunrobin castle, which they invested. The earl held out the castle till the evening, when, despairing of relief, he requested the commanders of the companies to hold a conference with him, in the castle, on the subject of a surrender. While engaged in conversation, Ensign Mackay, who had entered the castle along with the two captains, went down-stairs, and having informed the earl's men below that he had surrendered, induced them to deliver up their arms. Having secured their arms, he took the keys from the porter, and, opening the gates, admitted his party. He then went up-stairs with them, and, entering the dining room, seized the earl, Lord Macleod, and the whole officers.

Whilst the Duke of Cumberland was deliberating

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upon the course he should adopt for finally suppressing the rebellion, his unfortunate kinsman, disheartened by his recent disaster, was entirely occupied with thoughts of his own personal safety. After leaving the field, Charles, escorted by a large body of horse, crossed the River Nairn at the ford of Falie, about four miles from the field of battle. Having halted a short time on the south side of the Nairn, during which he held a consultation with his friends, Charles dismissed the horse and most of his attendants, with instructions to assemble at Ruthven in Badenoch, where they were directed to wait for further orders. Taking along with him Sir Thomas Sheridan, O'Sullivan, Captain O'Neil, John Hay, and a few other persons, Charles set out for Gortuleg, the residence of Lord Lovat's steward, where he arrived about sunset. There, for the first and only time, the prince met Lord Lovat, who, on learning the cause of the prince's unexpected visit, became, it is said, almost frantic; and, anticipating the fate which awaited him, called out to those around him to chop off his head. In a little time the aged chief regained his self-possession, and entered into conversation with Charles and his followers in relation to their future prospects. As it was not considered safe to pass the night so near the royal troops, Charles and his party, after partaking of some supper, left Gortuleg about ten o'clock for Invergarry, the seat of Macdonell of Glengarry. Before leaving Gortuleg the prince took the precaution to change his dress.

The prince and his party arrived at the mansion of Invergarry about four o'clock in the morning, where Charles began to experience a foretaste of the miseries he was destined to endure. This ancient castle, ever since its first erection, had never been in such a cheerless condition as that in which Charles now found it.

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Unprovided with furniture or provisions, and inhabited by a solitary domestic, it seemed to warn the unfortunate fugitives that they were unwelcome within its walls, and that they must speedily look out for a more hospitable place of retreat. Overcome by fatigue, the whole party lay down upon the floor, in their clothes, and fell asleep. After reposing several hours, they rose, but had nothing to eat till Edward Burke, servant to Alexander Macleod, one of the party, observing a net in the water of Gary, pulled it out and caught two salmon, on which they dined.

With the exception of O'Sullivan, O'Neil, and Edward Burke, who, from his knowledge of the country was selected as the prince's guide, all the party took leave of Charles at Invergarry. Before leaving the castle, Charles, in order the more effectually to disguise himself, put on Burke's coat; and at three o'clock in the afternoon, he set out for Loch Arkaig in Lochaber, accompanied by his three attendants, and took up his quarters for the night in the house of Donald Cameron of Glenpean. Charles slept the following night, that of Friday, the eighteenth, at Mewboll, where he and his small party were well entertained. From Mewboll they set out next morning for Glenboisdale. At Loch Morar they waited several hours for a boat to carry them across; but, not finding one, they were obliged, from the road being impracticable for horses, to abandon them and to walk on foot to Glenboisdale, which they reached on Sunday, the twentieth, after great fatigue, having crossed two lofty ranges of mountains in their route.

Presuming that Charles still meant to make a stand, Lord George Murray and the other chiefs who remained with the army retired to Ruthven, where, including Cluny's men whom they met on their retreat, they assembled a force of between two and three thousand men.

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From the want of provisions it was impossible to keep such a body together for any length of time; and a message from Charles, two or three days after the battle, desiring them to disperse, hastened an event which seemed to be inevitable. In thus resigning the contest which by his inconsiderate rashness he had provoked, Charles showed that he was not possessed of that magnanimity which many of his followers ascribed to him. Notwithstanding their recent reverse, there existed no unwillingness on the part of the brave men who had risked their all for him to continue the war. They might not have, it is true, succeeded in vindicating the claim of an ungrateful prince in the field; but, under his leadership, they might have made a gallant stand, and forced the government to grant them favourable terms. In extenuation of the prince's conduct, on the present occasion, it is but fair to add that he was under the influence of a set of contemptible advisers, who prejudiced him against his best friends, and instilled into his mind a conviction that he had been betrayed at Culloden. How far the conduct of Lord George Murray, after that event, may have determined Charles to take the course he did, cannot now be ascertained; but if Charles, in the midst of his perplexity immediately after the battle, hesitated as to the course he should pursue, his reception of the following document, under the hand of Lord George Murray, was certainly not calculated to induce him to continue the contest.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

“As no person in these kingdoms ventured more frankly in the cause than myself, and as I had more at stake than almost all the others put together, so, to be sure, I cannot but be very deeply affected with our late loss and present situation; but I declare, that were

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your Royal Highness's person in safety, the loss of the cause, and the misfortunate and unhappy situation of my countrymen, is the only thing that grieves me, for I thank God I have resolution to bear my own family's ruin without a grudge. Sir, you will, I hope, upon this occasion, pardon me, if I mention a few truths, which all the gentlemen of our army seem convinced of.

“ It was highly wrong to have set up the royal standard without having positive assurances from his Most Christian Majesty, that he would assist you with all his force; and as your royal family lost the crown of these realms upon the account of France, the world did and had reason to expect that France would seize the first favourable opportunity to restore your august family.

“ I must also acquaint your Royal Highness, that we were all fully convinced that Mr. O'Sullivan, whom your Royal Highness trusted with the most essential things with regard to your operations, was exceedingly unfit for it, and committed gross blunders on every occasion of moment. He, whose business it was, did not so much as visit the ground where we were to be drawn up in line of battle, and it was a fatal error to allow the enemy these walls upon their left, which made it impossible for us to break them, and they, with their front fire, and flanking us when we went upon the attack, destroyed us without any possibility of our breaking them, and our Athole men have lost a full half of their officers and men. I wish Mr. O'Sullivan had never got any other charge in the army than the care of the baggage, which, I am told, he had been brought up to and understood. I never saw him in time of action, neither at Gladsmuir, Falkirk, nor in the last, and his orders were vastly confused.

“ The want of provisions was another misfortune which had the most fatal consequence. Mr. Hay,

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whom your Royal Highness trusted with the principal direction of ordering provisions of late, and without whose orders a boll of meal or farthing of money was not to be delivered, has served your Royal Highness egregiously ill. When I spoke to him, he told me the thing is ordered, it will be got, etc.; but he neglected his duty to such a degree, that our ruin might probably have been prevented had he done his duty. In short, the three last days which were so critical, our army was starved. This was the reason our night march was rendered abortive, when we possibly might have surprised and defeated the enemy at Nairn; but for want of provisions a third of the army scattered to Inverness, etc., and the other who marched had not spirits to make it so quick as was necessary, being really faint for want of provisions.

“The next day, which was the fatal day, if we had got plenty of provisions we might have crossed the water of Nairn, and drawn up so advantageously, that we would have obliged the enemy to come to us, for they were resolved to fight at all hazards at prodigious disadvantage, and probably we would in that case have done by them, as they unhappily have done by us. In short, Mr. O’Sullivan and Mr. Hay had rendered themselves odious to all our army, and had disgusted them to such a degree, that they had bred a mutiny in all ranks, that had not the battle come on, they were to have represented their grievances to your Royal Highness for a remedy. For my own part, I never had any particular discussion with either of them; but I ever thought them incapable and unfit to serve in the stations they were placed in.

“Your Royal Highness knows I always told I had no design to continue in the army. I would of late, when I came last from Athole, have resigned my commission;

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but all my friends told me it might be of prejudice to the cause at such a critical time. I hope your Royal Highness will now accept of my demission. What commands you have for me in any other situation, please honour me with them. — I am, with great zeal, Sir, your Royal Highness's most dutiful and humble servant,

“GEORGE MURRAY.

“RUTHVEN, 17th April, 1746.

“I have taken the liberty to keep 500 pieces, which shant be disposed upon except you give leave.”

It would appear from the preceding document, that Lord George Murray, who, of all men, was the best judge of the propriety of trying another campaign, did not in the least contemplate that Charles would abandon the enterprise. His own opinion was, that the war should be continued; and when he heard that Charles had resolved to depart for France, he sent Secretary Hay to Glenboisdale with a message to Charles, to dissuade him against such a step; but Charles informed Hay that his resolution was fixed. Lord George maintained that the Highlanders “could have made a summer's campaign without the risk of any misfortune; they could have marched through the hills to places in Banffshire, Aberdeenshire, the Mearns, Perthshire, Lochaber, and Argyleshire, by ways that regular troops could not have followed; and if they (the regular troops) had ventured among the mountains, it must have been attended with great danger and difficulty: their convoys might have been cut off, and opportunities would have offered to attack them with almost a certainty of success. And though the Highlanders had neither money nor magazines, they would not have

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starved in that season of the year so long as there were sheep and cattle. They could also have separated themselves in two or three different bodies, got meal for some days' provision, met again at a place appointed, and might have fallen upon the enemy when they least expected. They could have marched in three days what would have taken regular troops five. Nay, had those taken the highroads as often as they would have been obliged upon account of their carriages, it would have taken them ten or twelve days. In short, they might have been so harassed and fatigued that they must have been in the greatest distress and difficulties, and at length probably been destroyed, at least much might have been expected by gaining of time. Perhaps the Highlanders might have been enabled to have made an offensive instead of a defensive war."

After receiving Charles's orders to disperse, the officers at Ruthven, to use an expression of one of themselves, "took a melancholy leave of each other," and went off in different directions to secure their personal safety, and the common men proceeded straight to their respective homes.

While Secretary Hay was at Boisdale, Charles drew up a letter to the chiefs, stating the reasons of his departure, which he enclosed in one to Sir Thomas Sheridan, with instructions to show it to them, but to keep it as long back as he conveniently could. He stated that it was "of the last consequence" to conceal his departure on some pretext or other, which he enjoined him to contrive, and to recommend, particularly to every person to whom he showed the paper, to follow the same course. In using this precaution Charles probably wished to keep the government in ignorance of his design to leave the kingdom. The letter to the chiefs, which, though written on or before the twenty-



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third of April, the date of the letter to Sir Thomas Sheridan, is post-dated the twenty-eighth, with the view, perhaps, of allowing Sir Thomas to withhold it for a few days, by which time Charles expected that he would be on his way to the Long island, where he expected to find a vessel to carry him to France. The letter to the chiefs runs thus: —

“ FOR THE CHIEFS: — When I came into this country, it was my only view to do all in my power for your good and safety: This I will always do as long as life is in me. But alas! I see with grief I can at present do little for you on this side of the water, for the only thing that can now be done is to defend yourselves till the French assist you, if not to be able to make better terms. To effectuate this, the only way is to assemble in a body as soon as possible, and then to take measures for the best, which you that know the country are only judges of. This makes me be of little use here; whereas, by my going into France instantly, however dangerous it be, I will certainly engage the French court either to assist us effectually and powerfully, or at least to procure you such terms as you would not obtain otherways. My presence there, I flatter myself, will have more effect to bring this sooner to a determination than any body else, for several reasons; one of which I will mention here; viz., it is thought to be a politick (policy), though a false one, of the French court, not to restore our master, but to keep a continual civil war in this country, which renders the English government less powerful, and of consequence themselves more. This is absolutely destroyed by my leaving the country, which nothing else but this will persuade them that this play cannot last, and if not remedied, the elector will soon be as despotick as the

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French king, which, I should think, will oblige them to strike the great stroke, which is always in their power, however averse they may have been to it for the time past. Before leaving off, I must recommend to you, that all things should be decided by a council of all your chiefs, or, in any of your absence, the next commander of your several corps with the assistance of the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray, who, I am persuaded, will stick by you to the very last. My departure should be kept as long private and concealed as possible on one pretext or other which you will fall upon. May the Almighty bless and direct you."

At Glenboisdale Charles was joined by Clanranald, Lockhart, younger of Carnwarth, Æneas Macdonald, the banker, and several other adherents, who endeavoured to dissuade him from embarking for the isles, where, from the number of cruisers which hovered among the Hebrides, they considered he would run greater risk than if he remained on the mainland. Charles seemed disposed to adopt this advice; but O'Sullivan being adverse to it, and having represented the great probability of speedily finding a ship among the isles to convey him to France, and the great danger of staying where he was, the prince adhered to his determination of seeking a temporary refuge in the Long island. With the intention of soliciting the protection of Sir Alexander Macdonald and the laird of Macleod, Charles sent to Kinlochmoidart for one Donald Macleod, a trustworthy person whom he wished to entrust with his despatches. Macleod had been at Inverness shipping a cargo of meal for Skye when Charles entered that town, and had been employed to accompany Æneas Macdonald to the island of Barra, for the purpose of bringing over a sum of about £380, which was lying

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there. They had reached Kinlochmoidart on their way back, and were about setting out for Inverness, when Macdonald received a letter from the prince announcing his defeat, and requesting him to repair to Borodale. On receiving this message Macleod immediately set out, and in passing through a forest in the vicinity of Glenboisdale, he observed a solitary wanderer among the trees, who immediately came forward and asked him if he was Donald Macleod of Gualtergill in Skye. Macleod answered that he was, and having recognized the prince in the person of his interrogator, he stated that he was at his service. "Then," said the prince, "you see, Donald, I am in distress. I therefore throw myself into your bosom; do with me what you like. I hear you are an honest man, and fit to be trusted." The aged Highlander doubting his capacity to serve him, Charles stated to him the nature of the mission on which he intended to send him. Macleod, startled at the proposal, positively refused to undertake the task; and having remonstrated with Charles upon the impropriety of asking the protection of men who had, contrary to their promise, taken part against him, he abandoned his design.

During the few days that Charles spent at Glenboisdale, he is said to have wavered in his plans. Though informed of the dispersion of his troops, he had hopes that a good many might still be collected as occasion offered. He is said even to have entertained thoughts of again assembling his scattered forces, and acting on the defensive. He sent a few men, with whom Clanranald had supplied him, on all sides to obtain intelligence, but they brought nothing favourable; and accounts which he received from the isle of Skye, that Lord Loudon was about to come over immediately to the coast of Arisaig, joined to a report, which, however,

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turned out to be false, that a detachment of the Duke of Cumberland's army had already reached Fort Augustus, hastened his departure from the mainland.

Accordingly, on the evening of the twenty-sixth of April, Charles, accompanied by O'Sullivan, O'Neil, Allan Macdonald, a Catholic priest of Clanranald's family, and Edward Burke, embarked in an eight-oared boat at Borodale, in the bay of Lochnanuagh, where he had first landed. Besides the persons enumerated, and Donald Macleod who acted as pilot, there were seven boatmen. Charles sat down in the bottom of the boat at the feet of the pilot. Macleod, who observed indications of an approaching storm, had advised Charles to postpone his voyage till next day; but the prince was so intent upon proceeding, that he would not put off his departure. Four pecks of oatmeal were all the provision the whole party carried along with them, and the only cooking utensil was a pot which Macleod had taken care to provide.

Charles soon had occasion to repent of his obstinacy in not listening to the advice of the aged mariner; for before the boat had proceeded far, a storm arose, which is described by Macleod as the most violent he had ever witnessed, though he had been all his life a seafaring man. The danger was greatly increased by the darkness of the night, and to add to the distress of the party, the rain poured down in torrents. Vivid flashes of lightning which threw a momentary gleam over the face of the troubled deep, and the crash of the thunder which rolled over the heads of the affrighted party, increased the horrors of the scene. Unprovided with a compass, they were entirely ignorant of the course they were steering; but they had, from the violence of the tempest, no alternative but to go before the wind, and, in the event of escaping the fury of the waves,

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running the risk of being driven upon Skye, where the prince might fall into the hands of the militia who were in that island. But all their apprehensions of danger on this score were removed, by discovering at day-break that they were on the coast of the Long island. At seven o'clock in the morning they landed with great difficulty at Rossinish, a point of land on the northeast of Benbecula, one of the islands which form the group called the Long island. Having secured their boat, Charles and his party entered an uninhabited hut, in which they kindled a fire to warm themselves and dry their clothes, which were saturated with rain and salt water. Charles purchased a cow, which was immediately slaughtered; and which, with the small quantity of meal provided by Donald Macleod, served to support the party during the time they remained on the island.

Meanwhile the Duke of Cumberland was using every effort to capture the persons of the young Chevalier and his principal adherents. For this purpose, several detachments were sent out by the duke from his camp at Inverness in different directions, and as he was desirous that Charles should not fall alive into his hands, his instructions to the commanders of the detachments were to make no prisoners. One of these detachments, under Colonel Cockayne, proceeded to Moy castle, and after shooting some fugitives who had taken refuge in that mansion, and massacring some old men, women, and children, returned to Inverness, carrying along with them Lady Mackintosh, who, on her arrival there, was committed to custody by the duke. Another party went to Castle Downie, the seat of Lord Lovat, which they burnt to the ground, having previously secured a large quantity of booty, which they carried to Inverness. A body of six hundred Grants was sent into the

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Frasers' country to reduce and disarm that powerful clan; and the Monroes, Mackays, and Sutherlands, were scattered over the shires of Ross, Cromarty, Sutherland, and Caithness to keep the disaffected in these counties in check. To secure the passages to the isles, Lord Fortrose, son of the Earl of Seaforth, proceeded to raise the Mackenzies, and orders were given along the coast to prevent any suspicious persons from making their escape by sea. Cobham's and Lord Mack Ker's dragoons were posted along the east coast, and bodies of militia were stationed at the passes leading into the Highlands to intercept all persons who might attempt to escape to the Lowlands. The pass of Stirling was also guarded by a detachment posted at the Fords of the Frew, and the Edinburgh regiment was spread along the south side of the Frith of Forth, to apprehend such of the insurgents as might attempt to cross that arm of the sea. Besides these different detachments, a body of seventeen hundred militia, under the Earl of Loudon, the laird of Macleod, and Sir Alexander Macdonald, the last of whom had raised his men before the battle of Culloden, and another body of eight hundred Argyleshire men under General Campbell, afterward Duke of Argyle, spread themselves over Lochaber, all eager to secure the person of the prince. In short, no means were neglected to attain this object; and the bloodthirsty pursuers required no other stimulus to urge them on than the splendid reward of £30,000, which had been offered for the capture of the royal fugitive.

The departure of Charles from Lochnanuagh was not known at Inverness till some days after he had sailed, and the supposed place of his destination become a matter of interesting speculation. No doubt could exist that he designed to seek refuge among the western

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islands, and as St. Kilda is the most distant and the least frequented of the whole, it was supposed that Charles had repaired thither. Acting on this supposition, General Campbell collected some sloops of war and transports, and having embarked a considerable body of troops, set sail for St. Kilda. After touching at Barra and some other islands, and searching for the prince, he approached St. Kilda, the inhabitants of which, alarmed at the sight of the fleet, fled and concealed themselves in the cliffs of the rocks. Landing with some of his forces, the general inquired of some of the inhabitants, whom he discovered in their recesses, what had become of the "Pretender;" but these people answered, with great simplicity, that they had never heard of such a person; that they had indeed been informed that their laird (Macleod) had lately been at war with a woman a great way abroad, and that he had overcome her. This, they added, was all they knew of the affairs of the world. General Campbell, however, not satisfied with this statement, made a search over the island, but not finding any strangers, returned to the mainland, after visiting South Uist.

Anticipating the utter ruin which awaited them and their followers, if no attempt was made to resist the meditated designs of the Duke of Cumberland, several chiefs and others held a meeting at Mortlaig on the eighth of May, at which they entered into a bond for their mutual defence, and agreed never to lay down their arms, or make a general peace, without the consent of the whole. They may be supposed to have come to this resolution the more readily, as a sum of thirty-five thousand louis-d'ors had been received a few days before by two French frigates which had arrived on the west coast. By the bond of association, the chiefs agreed, and solemnly promised, with the utmost expe-



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dition, to raise in behalf of the prince and in defence of their country, as many able-bodied armed men as they could on their respective properties, and they farther promised and agreed that the following clans, viz., Lochiel, Glengary, Clanranald, Stewarts of Appin, Keppoch, Barisdale, Mackinnons, and Macleods, should assemble on Thursday, the fifteenth of May, at Auchnicarry, in the braes of Lochaber. To facilitate the junction of the different corps with all possible speed, it was agreed that the Frasers of Aird and the other Jacobite clans on the north side of the River Ness, should join the people of Glenmoriston and Glengary, and that the Frasers of Stratherrick, the Mackintoshes and Macphersons, should assemble and meet at the most convenient place in Badenoch on the same day; that the Macgregors, and Menzies's and Glenlyon's people should march to Rannoch and join the Rannoch and Athole men, and be kept in readiness to receive intelligence and orders to meet the main body in the braes of Mar, or at any other place that might be considered convenient; that Gordon of Glenbucket and Colonel Roy Stewart should intimate the resolutions of the meeting to Lord Lewis Gordon, Lords Ogilvy and Pitsligo, the Farquharsons, and the other principal gentlemen in the north, who were to be directed to fix a place of rendezvous among themselves, and that Macpherson of Cluny and Colonel Roy Stewart should advertise the principal gentlemen of the Mackintoshes of the resolutions adopted by the meeting. The better to conceal their designs from the Duke of Cumberland, the assembled chiefs agreed not to discover or reveal to any of their men or inferior officers, the agreement they had entered into, nor the day and place of rendezvous, till they had assembled their respective corps. It was finally agreed, that should any one engaged in



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the association make separate terms for himself, he should be looked upon as a traitor to the prince, and be treated by his associates as an enemy.

The associated chiefs had been too sanguine in their expectations, not one of them being able, for various reasons, to meet on the day appointed. Clanranald's people refused to leave their own country, and many of Glengary's had delivered up their arms. Lochgary came with a small party to Invermely on the twentieth of May; but, after staying one night, he crossed Loch Arkraig and did not return. Lochiel and Barisdale met at Auchnicarry, the place of rendezvous, on the twenty-first or twenty-second of May, but with very few men, and they were almost surprised by a large party of the government forces on the morning of the twenty-third, who took an officer and two of Lochiel's men prisoners. The Highlanders immediately dispersed, and Lochiel, seeing no chance of making an effectual stand under existing circumstances, wrote a circular to his brother chiefs, advising them to disperse their people; but, as great expectations were entertained that the French king would send assistance, he requested them to preserve their arms as long as possible.

Conceiving that the only effectual mode of suppressing the rebellion was to march into the Highlands with the whole of his army, the Duke of Cumberland began, about the middle of May, to make preparations for his journey. He had in the beginning of that month issued a proclamation, ordering the insurgent clans to deliver up their arms; but little attention was paid to this mandate, and the continuance of considerable armed parties convinced him that the Highlands could never be reduced without the presence of a considerable army stationed in a central district. Having pitched upon Fort Augustus for his new headquarters, the duke

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left Inverness, on the twenty-third of May, with eleven battalions of foot and Kingston's horse, and reached Fort Augustus next day. Charles had intended to make this place a rallying point in case of a defeat; but his plan was rejected by the chiefs, and, that it might not be serviceable to the royal troops, the buildings had been blown up. No accommodation being therefore found for the duke's army, a camp was formed in the neighbourhood, and a turf hut with doors and windows, and covered with green sods and boughs, was erected by Lord Loudon's Highlanders for the use of his Royal Highness.

Resolving to inflict a signal chastisement upon the rebels, the duke sent, from his camp at Fort Augustus, detachments of his troops in all directions, which devastated the country with fire and sword, and committed excesses scarcely paralleled in history, resembling, though perhaps on a minor scale, those committed by the hosts of Hyder Ali, when that merciless destroyer burst into the Carnatic. The seats of Lochiel, Glengary, Kinlochmoidart, Keppoch, Cluny, Glengyle, and others were plundered and burnt to the ground, and great numbers of the houses of the common people shared the same fate. Major Lockhart, whose name by his cruelties on this occasion has obtained an infamous notoriety, marched with a detachment into the country of the Macdonalds of Barisdale, and laid waste and destroyed their dwellings. Some of these poor people had obtained protections from Lord Loudon; but the major disregarded them, and told the people who had them, that not even a warrant from Heaven should prevent him from executing his orders. Another corps, under Lord George Sackville, ravaged the country about the glens of Moidart, while others carried fire and desolation through other districts. Not contented with destroy-

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ing the country, these bloodhounds either shot the men upon the mountains, or murdered them in cold blood. The women, after witnessing their husbands, fathers, and brothers murdered before their eyes, were subjected to brutal violence, and then turned out naked with their children to starve on the barren heaths. A whole family was enclosed in a barn, and consumed to ashes. So alert were these ministers of vengeance, that in a few days, according to the testimony of a volunteer who served in the expedition, neither house, cottage, man, nor beast was to be seen within the compass of fifty miles. All was ruin, silence, and desolation. Deprived of their cattle and their small stock of provisions by the rapacious soldiery, the hoary-headed matron and sire, the widowed mother and her helpless offspring, were to be seen dying of hunger, stretched upon the bare ground, and within view of the smoking ruins of their dwellings.

It may seem surprising that the Highlanders did not avenge themselves upon their oppressors by assassinating such stragglers as fell in their way. It cannot be supposed that men, in whose bosoms the spirit of revenge must have taken deep root, would have spared their relentless adversaries from any scruple as to the mode of despatching them; nor can it be imagined that the Highlanders could not have selected fit occasions when they might have inflicted vengeance upon individuals. The reason of their forbearance probably was, that such a system of warfare, if adopted, would lead to acts of retaliation on the part of the military, and thus increase their calamities. Only one instance is known where an injured person attempted to avenge himself. This was the case of a Highlander who had his house burned, his cattle plundered, and his son killed, while defending his family, who were turned out in the

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snow. Vowing revenge, he watched the officer who was the author of this inhuman outrage, and who, he was informed, was to be distinguished by a cloak of a particular kind. This officer, riding one day with Captain George Munro of Culcairn in a shower of rain, lent him his cloak; and while marching in it with a party of men along the side of Loch Arkaig, the captain was shot by the enraged Highlander, who perceived the cloak, but could not distinguish the difference of person. The man escaped, and although he was well known, and might have been afterward apprehended, he was allowed to pass unpunished.

Of the immense quantity of cattle carried off by Cumberland's troops, some idea may be formed from the fact mentioned in a journal of the period, that there were sometimes two thousand in one drove. Intelligence of such a vast accumulation of live stock reaching the ears of the graziers of the south, numbers of them went to Fort Augustus well provided with money, which they laid out to great advantage. Some of the people, impelled by starvation, repaired to the camp to solicit from the spoilers some of their flocks, to preserve an existence; but their supplications were unheeded, and they were doomed to behold their cattle sold and driven away, while famine stared them in the face.

The atrocities committed by the Duke of Cumberland and his myrmidons must have been peculiarly revolting to the humane and generous mind of Lord-President Forbes. On paying his respects to the duke at Inverness, on his return from Skye, he took occasion to hint to his Royal Highness that the laws of the country should be observed even by his army; but the duke, who entertained very different ideas, not relishing such an intrusion upon his authority, cut the worthy president short with this exclamation: "The laws of the

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country, my Lord! I'll make a brigade give laws, by God!" Judging farther remonstrance to be vain, Forbes dropped the subject, and was compelled to deplore in silence the cruelties which he could not prevent. He might have represented the matter to the government; but he was perhaps unwilling to run the risk of incurring its displeasure, and thereby deprive himself of the chance of being afterward useful in saving many families from ruin.

The enormities of the lawless soldiery were not confined to the Highlands, but extended to all the adjoining Lowland districts where the spirit of disaffection was known to exist. The houses of the low country Jacobite gentry were plundered and destroyed, and the chapels of the nonjurant Episcopal clergy, as well as the more humble and secluded places of worship belonging to the Catholics, were either razed or burnt to the ground. So accustomed did these miscreants become with deeds of rapine and blood, that they continued their ravages, not so much from a feeling of revenge, which even in hearts steeled against the impulses of humanity will sometimes recoil at its own atrocities, as from a fiendish pleasure of extending the havoc. "Rebel-hunting" was the term adopted by the ruffians of the British army to designate their bloody occupation.

To complete the work of extermination, the duke issued a proclamation, denouncing the punishment of death, by hanging, against every person who should harbour the insurgents, and a similar fate was declared to await such as should conceal arms, ammunition, or any other thing belonging to them, or should not immediately deliver up to persons authorized by the duke to receive the same, any property or effects in their possession belonging to the rebels. In compliance with a requisition made by the duke, the General As-

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sembly of the church of Scotland, about the end of May, enjoined the ministers of the different parishes to read a proclamation from the pulpits, in which they themselves, and every well-affected person, were ordered by his Royal Highness to use every exertion to discover and seize the unfortunate fugitives; and to facilitate their discovery and apprehension, the clergy were required to furnish lists of the names of all persons in their respective parishes who had had any share in the insurrection. Many clergymen, including those of Edinburgh, with feelings of humanity and independence which did them honour, refused to read this proclamation, or to comply with the order requiring them to give in the names of such of their parishioners as had been engaged in the rebellion. The government, equally intent with its sanguinary general upon the destruction of the unfortunate adherents of the house of Stuart, offered rewards for apprehending such of the fugitives as might land in Ireland, and instructions were sent to the British ministers at foreign courts, in alliance with George II, to seize all who might seek refuge in the territories of such powers.

The guilt of all these acts of bloodshed and rapine has been laid to the charge of the Duke of Cumberland, and the single fact that he issued no orders to put an end to the enormities which were daily committed, almost under his own eyes, and with his perfect knowledge, seems of itself sufficient to justify the charge. But when taken in connection with his sanguinary order not to make prisoners, the proofs of his criminality are evident. Though the foul stain of wanton cruelty must ever attach to the British army on the present occasion, from the commander down to the private, there were some redeeming exceptions among the officers, who alleviated the sufferings, and, in some instances, saved the lives

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of the devoted Highlanders. "I think myself," says Mr. Maxwell, "bound in justice, to let the reader know that there were in the Duke of Cumberland's army officers of all ranks, whom neither the prospect of ingratiating themselves and making their fortunes, nor the contagion of bad example, were able to corrupt. Some of those that had done the government the most essential services were as conspicuous now for their humanity as formerly for their courage and conduct. It might be indiscreet to be particular at present; but their names, which are written with indelible characters in the hearts of those poor people that owe to them the preservation of their being, will be carefully handed down to posterity. They are already known, and even, in the worst of times, meet with the applause they deserve from all those that have a fellow feeling for their species."

With the honourable exceptions here alluded to, neither the duke nor the obsequious slaves of his tyrannical will, ever appear to have felt the least compunction for the miseries they inflicted upon the unfortunate Highlanders. On the contrary, they seem to have revelled amidst the ruin and desolation which they spread around; and when their occupation of "rebel-hunting" was gone, by the destruction of their victims, they endeavoured to relieve the ennui of repose by ludicrous and indecent diversions. Horse and foot races were instituted by the royal duke, who did not think it beneath his dignity to induce the women of the camp to enter the lists, and to expose themselves in a way at which decency revolts. This species of amusement produced great insubordination in the army, for the soldiers got very fond of it, and, according to a volunteer, most of them had horses, which they bought and sold with one another at a low price, and on which they



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rode about neglecting their duty, in consequence of which it became necessary to publish an order to part with them, otherwise they were all to be shot. "I saw," continues the same writer, "a soldier riding on one of these horses. When being met by a comrade, he asked him, 'Tom, what hast thou given for the Galloway?' Tom answered, 'half a crown.' To which the other replied with an oath, 'He is too dear; I saw a better bought for eighteenpence.' Notwithstanding the low price, the vast quantities of cattle, such as oxen, horses, sheep, and goats, taken from the rebels, and bought up by the lump by the jockies and farmers from Yorkshire and the south of Scotland, came to a great deal of money, all which was divided amongst the men that brought them in, who were sent out in parties in search of the Pretender; and they frequently came to rebels' houses which they had left, as their owners would not be reduced to obedience. These our soldiers commonly plundered and burnt, so that many of them grew rich by their share of spoil."

When the zeal and activity of the military in pursuing the leading fugitives on the one hand, and the great care of the government to prevent their escape to the continent on the other, are considered, it is surprising that so many succeeded in their attempts to leave the kingdom. Besides the Earls of Cromarty and Kilmarnock, and Lord Macleod, the only other Jacobite chiefs who fell into the hands of the government, were the Marquis of Tullibardine, Lords Balmerino and Lovat, and Secretary Murray. The marquis, being unable from the bad state of his health to bear the fatigue of running from covert to covert, surrendered himself, on the twenty-seventh of April, to a Dumbartonshire gentleman, who committed him to the castle of Dumbarton; and Lord Balmerino, by the advice of Mr. Grant, younger



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of Rothiemurcus, most unwisely delivered himself up at Inverness, two days after the battle of Culloden. After having the mortification of witnessing, from the summit of a high mountain, the conflagration of his seat of Castle Downie by the king's troops, Lord Lovat took refuge in the western parts of Inverness-shire, and finally concealed himself in the hollow of a tree which grew on a small island in Loch Morar, where he was apprehended early in June by a party from the *Furnace* sloop of war. When discovered he was wrapped up in a blanket; and, though he had between five and six hundred guineas in his pocket, had been obliged to live twelve days in his miserable retreat on oatmeal and water. Being unable, from his great age and infirmity, to ride, he was carried in a litter to the royal camp at Fort Augustus. Secretary Murray contrived to escape from the Highlands, and sought for safety in the house of his brother-in-law, Mr. Hunter of Polmood, in Peebles-shire; but information having been given of his retreat, he was apprehended on the morning of Saturday, the twenty-eighth of June, by a party of St. George's dragoons, carried to Edinburgh, and committed the same evening a close prisoner to the castle.

Macdonald of Barisdale and his son were also taken prisoners, but were almost immediately set at liberty. That a man, who had taken such an active part in the insurrection as Barisdale did, should have been liberated unconditionally, is very improbable; and it was generally understood that he had entered into an engagement to apprehend the prince, and deliver him up to the Duke of Cumberland. So strong were the suspicions of Charles and his friends of Barisdale's treachery, that when Colonel Warren arrived in the West Highlands for the purpose of transporting Charles to France, he actually seized Barisdale and his son, and carried them along

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with him to that country as prisoners. A list of charges, in the shape of interrogatories, was afterward drawn up by Charles at Paris, to each of which Barisdale was required to make a direct and particular answer in writing; but the nature of his answers, if he made any, is not known. These charges, which are very specific, amount to seven in number. These were, 1. That he had given notice to the lord president and Lord Loudon of Charles's approach to Inverness, and advised them to retire from the town for their own safety. 2. That he had violated the bond which he and the other chiefs had entered into at Muirlaggan, by surrendering himself to the enemy without the consent of the rest. 3. That after receiving a protection, he had engaged to apprehend the person of the prince, and deliver him up to the enemy within a limited time. 4. That to effect his purpose a party of military had been placed under his direction. 5. That he had given information to the enemy against the Chevalier Lansy and another French officer. 6. That he had imposed on some of Glengary's people, by asserting that that chief had promised to deliver them up to the enemy, and that he was to receive £30 sterling of premium for each gentleman he (Glengary) should put into their hands. 7. That in consequence of this false information on the part of Barisdale, an information was given in against Glengary by these gentlemen; and his letters ordering them to take up arms for the prince were delivered to Lord Albemarle, upon which information Glengary was apprehended and all his papers seized. There may have been no foundation for these grave charges; but well or ill-founded, an opinion long prevailed in the Highlands that Barisdale had been unfaithful.

If Glengary's apprehension proceeded upon the information of the gentlemen of his own clan, they must

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have had better grounds for taking the extraordinary step they are alleged to have done, than the mere assertion of Barisdale; but the charge against Glengary seems highly improbable, as it is scarcely credible, if, as stated, they had letters from him in their possession advising them to take up arms in support of Charles, while he himself kept back, that he would by such a perfidious act have put himself in their power. Glengary, after his apprehension, was sent to London, and, along with the other chief prisoners, was committed to the Tower, where he suffered a long and tedious confinement. Young Glengary had been taken up some months previously and sent to the Tower, in which he was kept a close prisoner for twenty months.

Notwithstanding the sanguinary ferocity with which Cumberland's soldiers hunted down the unfortunate fugitives, the lives of a considerable number of those who were taken or surrendered themselves were saved from immediate destruction by the interference of a few humane persons, who did everything in their power to put a stop to the exterminating system of these blood-hounds. Though they thus escaped the merciless sword of the destroyer, they were nevertheless doomed to suffer the most extraordinary privations. After having been cooped up in the loathsome prisons of the north, without any attention to their wants, many of them were afterward huddled together in the holds of ships, where they were condemned unheeded to pine away, and amidst a mass of filth and corruption, to inhale the seeds of pestilence and death. Of 157 persons who were immured for eight months in the hold of one transport, only forty-nine survived the cruel treatment they received.

Meanwhile several of the chiefs of the insurrection succeeded in effecting their escape to the continent.

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The Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond, Lords Elcho and Nairn, Maxwell of Kirkconnel, and others, embarked at Lochnanuagh, on board one of the French ships which arrived on the western coast about the end of April. The Duke of Perth, who had been long in bad health, died on the voyage. Another party of twelve or thirteen persons, including Lords Pitsligo and Ogilvy, and Hunter of Burnside, after skulking some time in Buchan, got a vessel which conveyed them to Bergen in Norway. The British consul applied to the governor to have them secured, but he disregarded the application, and the party proceeded to Sweden. Stewart of Ardshiel, and General O'Sullivan also succeeded in reaching France. Old Glenbucket, after being hunted from place to place, eluded his pursuers by assuming the garb of a beggar, and allowing his beard to grow. In the month of November he escaped to Norway in a Swedish vessel. Lord George Murray remained in concealment in Scotland till the month of December, when, after paying a private visit to his friends at Edinburgh, he took shipping at Anstruther in the Frith of Forth, and reached Holland in safety.

## CHAPTER III

### PRINCE CHARLES IN THE ISLES

THE storm, which drove Charles with such rapidity upon the distant shores of Benbecula, continued for fourteen hours after he had landed. Accommodating himself to the new situation in which he was placed, he manifested no symptoms of dejection at his reverse of fortune, partook cheerfully along with his companions of the homely fare before him, and with an old sail for a bed, reposed upon the floor of his lowly dwelling. In Benbecula the prince was visited by old Clanranald, to whom the island belonged; and having afterward had an interview in South Uist with Boisdale, Clanranald's brother, Charles was advised by him to proceed to Stornoway, the principal seaport in the island of Lewis, and there give out that he and his company were the crew of a merchant ship belonging to the Orkneys, which had been wrecked on the isle of Tirey, and under the pretence of returning home, hire a vessel for that purpose, and escape to France. Accordingly, after passing two days in Benbecula, Charles and his party set sail for Stornoway on the twenty-ninth of April; but in consequence of a strong gale of wind from the southwest, they were obliged to put in next morning at the small isle of Scalpay or Glass, near Harris, about half-way between Benbecula and Stornoway. They landed about two hours before daybreak, and were conducted by Donald Macleod to the house of Donald Campbell, a farmer, known to Macleod, to

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whom they were introduced as merchants shipwrecked on their voyage to the Orkneys. The prince and O'Sullivan took the name of Sinclair, and the latter passed off as Charles's father. The whole party was hospitably entertained by Campbell, who lent Macleod a boat with which he proceeded next day, the first of May, to Stornoway to hire a vessel, leaving Charles and his friends behind.

Having succeeded in hiring a small vessel of forty tons, Macleod sent an express to Charles announcing his success, and requesting him to proceed to Stornoway. This message was received on the third of May, and the prince left the isle of Glass next day; but the wind proving contrary, he was obliged to land in Loch Seaforth, in the island of Lewis, a considerable distance from Stornoway. Here Allan Macdonald took his leave. Accompanied by O'Sullivan, O'Neil, and his guide, Charles set out on foot for Stornoway, over a wild and trackless waste, in a very dark and rainy night. The guide lost his way, and the party did not reach the neighbourhood of Stornoway till next day at noon. This mistake, on the part of the conductor, was a fortunate circumstance, as the advanced hour of the day prevented Charles from entering the town, where he might have been seized by the inhabitants, who having received information from the Presbyterian minister of South Uist, that the prince had landed in Lewis with five hundred men, with a design of burning their town, carrying off their cattle, and forcing a vessel to carry him to France, afterward rose in arms to oppose him. Charles stopped at the Point of Arynish, about half a mile from Stornoway, and sent in the guide to acquaint Macleod of his arrival, and to bring out some refreshment, as he and his fellow-travellers had been eighteen hours without food. Donald immediately

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repaired to the spot with some brandy, bread, and cheese, and found Charles and his two companions standing on a moor extremely fatigued and all wet to the skin. Donald then took them to the house of Mrs. Mackenzie of Kildun, at Arynish, where the prince went to bed. Returning to Stornoway, Macleod was quite amazed to find the town in commotion, and above two hundred men under arms. Unable to comprehend the meaning of this sudden rising, Donald went directly into the room where the gentlemen who had taken upon them the rank of officers had assembled, and inquired the cause of such a strange proceeding. He was instantly assailed with abuse by every person present. They informed him of the intelligence they had received from Uist of Charles's landing, and of his alleged intentions, and they accused Macleod as the cause of the calamity with which they were threatened. Unable to deny the fact of Charles's arrival in Lewis, Macleod at once admitted it, and to allay their fears he informed them, that so far from having a body of five hundred men along with him, as represented, he was attended by two companions only; "and yet," said Donald with an air of defiance, "let me tell you farther, gentlemen, if Seaforth himself were here, by G—— he durst not put a hand to the prince's breast!" The gentlemen present then declared that they had no intention to do the prince the least harm, and the only thing they required of him was to leave the island. Donald offered instantly to comply, and requested them to give him a pilot, but they refused; and although he offered the most liberal payment he could not obtain one. Alarmed for the consequences of being privy to the prince's escape, the master of the vessel which had been hired, either suspecting the object, or let, as is supposed, into the secret by Macleod, refused to implement his bargain.

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Returning to the prince, Macleod informed him of these disagreeable occurrences. A proposal was made to fly to the moors; but Charles, thinking that such a step would encourage his enemies to pursue, he resolved to pass the night at Kildun. Here the party killed a cow, for which the lady refused payment, but being pressed by Macleod she at last took the money. Edward Burke performed the duties of cook; but the prince, on the present occasion, superintended the culinary department, and with his own hands prepared a cake of oatmeal, mixed with the brains of the cow, and baked it upon a stone before the fire. At daybreak next morning the party left the island, carrying along with them a small stock of beef, two pecks of meal, and abundance of brandy and sugar. At this time the prince, O'Sullivan, and O'Neil had only six shirts amongst them, and being often drenched with rain, they were frequently obliged to take off the wet ones before the others were half dry. Conceiving that he would be more secure on the mainland than among the islands, Charles resolved to return thither, and ordered the boatmen to carry him to Bollein in Kintail; but they refused on account of the length of the voyage, which they considered dangerous in an open boat. They, therefore, proceeded southwards along the coast; but they had not proceeded far when they observed two large vessels at a distance sailing northwards, and making towards them. To avoid these ships they put into the small isle called Euirn or Iffurt, near Harris, a little to the northward of the island of Glass. On landing the prince and his attendants went to the summit of a little hill to observe the ships. Charles thought they were French, but his companions considered them English. He was desirous to ascertain the fact, but the boatmen could not be prevailed upon to go out and reconnoitre them. It is probable that



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these were the two frigates from Nantz, which arrived in Lochnanuagh the day after Charles's departure from that place, and, having landed the money, arms, and ammunition they had brought over for his service, were returning to France.

The little island on which Charles now was, was inhabited by a few fishermen, who, imagining the prince's boat to be a press-boat belonging to one of the ships of war, ran away to conceal themselves, leaving their fish behind. Charles and his party fared upon some of the fish which they found drying upon the beach. Unwilling to deprive the poor fishermen of any part of their hard-earned spoils without an equivalent, the prince was about laying down some money on the place from which the fish were taken; but on one of his followers representing to him that by doing so the fishermen might suppose that some person of note had visited the island, and that such an idea might lead to bad consequences, he desisted. Charles remained in this desolate island four days, during all which time he and his party lay in a wretched hut, resembling a hog-sty, and so wretchedly roofed that they were obliged to spread the boat's sail over the top of it. They lay upon the bare floor, without any covering, and to prevent surprise, kept watch by turns.

Resolving to return to Glass to pay Donald Campbell a visit, Charles left the little island of Iffurt on the tenth of May, and coursed along the shores of the Long Island till he arrived at the isle of Glass. Understanding that Campbell had absconded, from an apprehension that he would be seized for having entertained the prince, — a rumour to that effect having got abroad, — the prince left Glass the same day. There being no wind, the boatmen were obliged to row all night; but about daybreak, the wind began to rise, and hoisting sail,

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they scudded along the coast of Harris. Having no fresh water on board, they were forced, from lack of other provisions, to use oatmeal made up with salt water, of which Charles partook heartily. This salt water *drammach*, as this extraordinary preparation was called, was qualified with a dram of brandy, which the prince distributed from a bottle he held in his hand.

In coursing along Harris, Charles, while crossing the mouth of Finsbay, espied a ship of war, commanded by Captain Ferguson, lying in the bay, at the distance of about two musket shots, which immediately gave them chase. The ship followed them three leagues; but they escaped among the rocks at the point of Roudil in the Harris. They then kept close to the shore, and in passing along the coast of North Uist were observed by another war vessel, which was lying in Lochmaddy, which also gave them chase. Charles reached Benbecula after a very close pursuit, and had scarcely landed when a storm arose, which drove the vessels which pursued him off the coast. After this escape, Charles could not help remarking that Providence would not permit him to be taken at this time.

It being low water when Charles landed in Benbecula, one of the boatmen went among the rocks in quest of shell-fish, and found a crab, which he held up to the prince with an expression of joy. Taking up a pail which lay in the boat, Charles immediately proceeded to the spot where the boatman stood, and, in conjunction with him, soon filled the pail with crabs. The party then proceeded to a small hut which lay at the distance of two miles. Charles carried the pail, which Macleod insisted on relieving him of; but Charles refused to part with it, observing that he and the rest of the company might carry the baggage. The door of the hovel was so low, that the party could only enter by creeping in on

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their hands and knees; but to make the entry easier for the prince, Burke dug away part of the ground, and put heather below the prince's knees. From this homely residence, Charles sent a message to old Clanranald, acquainting him of his return to Benbecula, and of the difficulties with which he was beset. Clanranald repaired without delay to the hut, and promised Charles all the assistance in his power to enable him to leave the kingdom. Lady Clanranald, at the same time, sent Charles half a dozen of shirts, some shoes and stockings, a supply of wine and brandy, and other articles, to make his situation as comfortable as circumstances would admit of. After passing several days in this miserable habitation, Charles, by the advice of Clanranald, removed to South Uist, and took up his abode near the hill of Coradale, in the centre of the island, which was considered a more secure place of retreat.

When on the eve of leaving Benbecula, Charles despatched Donald Macleod in Campbell's boat, which he still retained, to the mainland, with letters to Lochiel and Secretary Murray, desiring to know how affairs stood, and requesting that a supply of cash and brandy might be sent to him. Donald met Lochiel and Murray at the head of Loch Arkaig; but Murray, from whom he was desired to obtain the money, informed him that he had none to spare, having only sixty louis-d'ors, which he meant to keep for his own necessities. Donald received letters from Lochiel and Murray to the prince, and, having found the means, he purchased two ankers of brandy, at a guinea each, for the use of the prince, with which he returned to the prince after an absence of eighteen days.

On his return he found the prince in a more comfortable dwelling than that in which he had left him. He

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had removed to South Uist on the sixteenth of May, and lived in the house of one of Clanranald's tenants, situated upon Coradale. The house not being watertight, two cow-hides were placed upon four sticks to prevent the rain from falling upon him when asleep. The house in which the prince lodged was called the Forest house of Glencoradale, and though the situation was remote, it was the best that could be devised for securing a retreat either to the hills or to the sea, according to circumstances. There being abundance of game in the island, the prince occupied himself almost daily in his favourite amusements of hunting and shooting. His dexterity in shooting birds upon the wing was particularly remarked. To vary his recreation, he frequently went down to the seashore, and, going on board a small boat, caught, with hand-lines, some small fishes, called lyths by the inhabitants. Clanranald and his lady did everything in their power to render his situation agreeable; and Clanranald placed twelve able men at his disposal to serve as guides through the island, and to execute any orders Charles might give them.

While Charles was thus passing his time in South Uist, his situation every day was becoming more and more critical. The Long Island was surrounded on every side by cutters, sloops of war, and frigates. Upwards of fifteen hundred militia and some regular troops were landed in different parts of the island, and a guard was posted at every ferry in the archipelago to prevent any person from getting out of it without a passport. Charles was made aware of his danger; but he declined to leave the Long Island till he should receive some farther intelligence, which Clanranald endeavoured to obtain by crossing over to the mainland. At length the peril of Charles became so imminent, that there appeared

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no possibility of an escape. He had already spent three weeks in South Uist; and though his residence was known to upwards of a hundred persons, all of whom were probably aware of the splendid reward which had been offered for his apprehension, yet such was the fidelity of these poor people, that not one of them betrayed their trust, by giving notice to the emissaries of the government of the place of his concealment. He lived in comparative security in South Uist till about the middle of June, when, in consequence of the presence of a body of militia in the island of Eriska, which lies between Barra and South Uist, he found it absolutely necessary to shift his quarters. He accordingly left South Uist in Campbell's boat with his four companions, on the fourteenth of June, and landed in the small isle of Ouia or Fovaya, between South Uist and Benbecula, in which he remained four nights; and on the eighteenth, the prince, O'Neil, and Burke went to Rossinish, leaving O'Sullivan and Macleod in Ouia. Charles passed two nights at Rossinish; but receiving information that some militia were approaching Benbecula, he resolved to return to Coradale. O'Sullivan and Macleod anticipated Charles's design by bringing the boat to Rossinish during the night, and having set sail, they encountered a violent storm, accompanied with a heavy rain, which forced them to land upon the rock called Achkirside-allich, at Uishinish Point, in a cleft of which they took up their quarters. At night, finding their enemies within two miles of them, they sailed again, and arrived safely at a place called Celiestiella, whence they steered towards Loch Boisdale; but, observing a boat in their way, they returned to the former place, where they passed the night. They proceeded to Loch Boisdale next day, where they were informed that Boisdale

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had been made a prisoner, a circumstance which perplexed Charles exceedingly, as Boisdale, from his perfect knowledge of the different places of concealment in the Long Island, was the chief person on whom he relied for directions in his various movements. Charles skulked some days about Loch Boisdale, where he and his attendants received occasional supplies of food from Lady Boisdale.

During the time the prince remained in Loch Boisdale, he was kept in a perpetual state of alarm by the vessels of war which hovered off the coast of South Uist. At one time no less than fifteen sail were in sight; and two of them having entered the loch, Charles and his companions abandoned their boat, and fled to the mountains. The vessels having gone out to sea, Charles and his party returned to the boat, in which they had left a small stock of provisions; and having taken out the sails for the purpose of covering them, they lay in the fields two nights on the south side of the loch. Removing the third night farther up the inlet, they passed two other nights in the same way, suffering all the time the greatest privations. Hitherto the military had not visited South Uist; but information was brought on the last of these days to Charles, that a party, under Captain Caroline Scott, an officer celebrated, along with General Hawley, Major Lockhart, and others, for his cruelties, had just landed at the head of a body of five hundred regulars and militia, within a mile and a half of the place where Charles then was. On receiving this alarming intelligence, Charles instantly resolved to separate his party; and leaving O'Sullivan, Macleod, and Burke with the boatmen, to shift for themselves, he and O'Neil went off to the mountains, carrying only two shirts along with them. The faithful Macleod was so affected at parting that he shed tears.

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Beset with dangers on every hand, Charles and his companion directed their steps towards Benbecula, and, about midnight, came to a hut into which O'Neil entered. Providentially for Charles, O'Neil here found Miss Flora Macdonald, with whom he had got lately acquainted at Ormaclade, the seat of Clanranald, in Benbecula, when on a visit to the chief, whose kinswoman she was. This lady, whose memory will ever be held in esteem by posterity, for her generous and noble disinterestedness in rescuing the prince from the imminent perils which surrounded him, was the daughter of Macdonald of Milton, in the island of South Uist. Her father left her an orphan when only a year old, and her mother married Macdonald of Armadale, in the isle of Skye, who commanded one of the militia companies raised in that island by Sir Alexander Macdonald, and was now in South Uist at the head of his corps. Miss Macdonald was about twenty-four years of age, of the middle size, and to the attractions of a handsome figure and great vivacity, she added the more estimable mental qualities of good sense, blandness of temper, and humanity. The hut in which O'Neil now met Miss Macdonald belonged to her only brother, Angus Macdonald of Milton, in whose family she then resided.

As O'Neil recollected that Miss Macdonald had expressed, in his presence, an earnest desire to see the prince, and had offered to do anything in her power to protect him, it occurred to O'Neil that, on the present occasion, she might render an essential service to the prince if, after dressing him in female attire, she would pass him off as her maid-servant, and carry him to Skye. O'Neil at once proposed his plan to the young lady; but she thought it fantastical and dangerous, and at first positively refused to engage in it. As parties of the



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Macdonald, Macleod, and Campbell militia were roaming over the island of South Uist in quest of Charles; as no person could leave the island without a passport; and as there was a guard posted at every ferry, and the channel between Uist and Skye covered with ships of war, the utter hopelessness of such an attempt appeared evident. Bent, however, upon his plan, O'Neil was resolved to try what effect Charles's own presence would have upon the young lady in inducing her to yield, and he accordingly introduced her to the prince. Miss Macdonald was so strongly impressed with his critical and forlorn state, that, on seeing Charles, she almost instantly consented to conduct him to Skye. She describes the prince at this time as in a bad state of health; and though of a thin and weak habit of body, and greatly worn out by fatigue, yet exhibiting a cheerfulness, magnanimity, and fortitude, which those only who saw him could have credited.

Having thus given her consent to O'Neil's proposal, Miss Macdonald instantly proceeded to Clanranald's house to procure the necessary requisites for the intended voyage to Skye. In crossing one of the fords on her way to Ormaclade, she and her man-servant, Neil Mac Eachan, not having passports, were taken prisoners by a party of militia, and, being detained till next morning, were taken before the commanding officer, who luckily turned out to be her own stepfather, Captain Hugh Macdonald. Having stated to him her intention of proceeding to Skye to her mother, she, without difficulty or suspicion, procured a passport from her stepfather, for herself, a man-servant, and her maid, who, in the passport, was called Betty Burke (the name the prince was to assume), and who was recommended by Captain Macdonald to his wife as an excellent spinner of flax, and a faithful servant. Next day at four o'clock



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in the afternoon, Charles received a message from Miss Macdonald, who had reached Ormaclade, informing him that "all was well;" on receiving which, he and O'Neil resolved to join her immediately; but, to their great consternation, the messenger informed them that they could not pass either of the fords that separated South Uist from Benbecula, as they were both guarded by the military. In their perplexity, an inhabitant offered to convey them in his boat to Benbecula; and they were accordingly landed on a promontory of that island. They dismissed the boat, after having given orders to the boatmen to meet them on the opposite side of the island, and proceeded on their journey; but they had not gone far when they observed that the land on which they stood was surrounded by water. Thinking that the pilot had made a mistake, they hallooed after the boat, but in vain, as it was already far from the shore. As it was high water, Charles and his companion imagined that they could obtain a dry passage on the subsiding of the tide; but they were disappointed. The situation of the prince now appeared dismal. After escaping so many dangers, he had at present no prospect but to starve upon a desert island. Nevertheless, he kept up his spirits; and, after a laborious search, he succeeded in finding a ford, by which he and his companion crossed. Charles and his companion arrived at Rossinish, the place of rendezvous, about midnight, wet to the skin, and exhausted with hunger and fatigue. Finding that a party of military was stationed at a short distance, they retired to another place, about four miles from Rossinish, whence O'Neil went to Ormaclade to ascertain the reason why Miss Macdonald had not kept her appointment. In explanation, she informed him, that conceiving the prince to be safer in North Uist than in Skye, she had engaged a cousin of her own in North Uist to

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receive him into his house. This gentleman, however, having afterward declined to run the risk of harbouring the prince, Miss Macdonald made the necessary preparations for her voyage. Having hired a six-oared boat to carry her to Skye, which she ordered to be in readiness at an appointed place the following day, Miss Macdonald left Ormaclade on the twenty-seventh of June, along with Lady Clanranald, a Mrs. Macdonald, and Mac Eachan, all of whom were conducted by O'Neil to the place where Charles lay concealed, about eight miles from Ormaclade. On entering the hovel, they found Charles employed in roasting, for dinner, the heart, liver, and kidneys of a sheep upon a wooden spit. The ladies began to compassionate the prince upon his unfortunate situation; but he diverted their attention from this melancholy subject by some facetious observations. He remarked that the wretched to-day may be happy to-morrow, and that all great men would be better by suffering as he was doing. The party dined in the hut; Miss Macdonald sitting on the right, and Lady Clanranald on the left hand of the prince.

After dinner, Charles put on the female attire, which had been provided for him by the ladies. It was coarse and homely, and consisted of a flowered linen gown, a light-coloured quilted petticoat, a white apron, and a mantle of dun camlet made after the Irish fashion, with a hood. Whilst Charles was putting on this extraordinary dress, several jokes were passed on the singularity of the prince's appearance. The ladies and Neil Mac Eachan returned to Ormaclade, and in the evening again met Charles and his companion on the seashore, at a mile's distance from that house. They sat down to supper on the seaside; but before they had finished, a messenger arrived with information that General Campbell and Captain Ferguson had arrived at Orma-

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clade with a large party of soldiers and marines in quest of Charles. Lady Clanranald went immediately home, and, on reaching her house, was interrogated very strictly by these officers, as to the cause of her absence; but she excused herself by saying, that she had been visiting a sick child.

After the departure of Lady Clanranald, Charles and his protectress went down to the beach where their boat lay afloat, so as to be in readiness to embark in case the military should appear. They kindled a fire upon a rock; but they had scarcely warmed themselves, when they were thrown into a state of alarm by the appearance of four boats full of armed men, apparently making towards the shore. They instantly extinguished their fire, and concealed themselves behind some rocks. Fortunately they were not observed by the boats, which, instead of coming to land, sailed along the shore, within a gun shot of the spot where Charles lay concealed. Judging it unwise to put to sea during the day, Charles deferred his voyage till the evening, and accordingly embarked, at eight o'clock, on the twenty-eighth of June, for Skye, accompanied by Miss Macdonald and Neil Mac Eachan. The prince was extremely sorry to part with O'Neil, his only remaining companion, and entreated Miss Macdonald to allow him to accompany them; but as she had only three passports, she absolutely refused to accede to the request.

When Charles left the shores of Benbecula the evening was clear and serene, and a gentle and favourable breeze rippled over the bosom of the deep; but as they proceeded to sea the sky began to lower, and they had not rowed above a league when the wind rose, the sea became rough, and a tempest ensued which seemed to threaten them with destruction. Miss Macdonald and the boatmen grew alarmed, but Charles showed the greatest

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composure, and, to revive their drooping spirits, alternately related some amusing stories and sang several songs, among which was an old spirited air composed on the occasion of the restoration of Charles II. In the passage Miss Macdonald fell asleep, and Charles took every precaution to prevent her being disturbed.

The wind having shifted several times during the night, the boatmen had not been able to keep a regular course, and when daylight appeared next morning they found themselves out of sight of land without knowing where they were. Having no compass, they proceeded at random; but they had not sailed far when they perceived some of the headlands of Skye. Favoured by the wind, they soon gained the point of Waterish, on the west of the island. In passing along this point they were fired upon by a party of Macleod militia, who called upon them to land; but they continued their course, and, to prevent suspicion, plied their oars very slowly. Lest the boatmen might get alarmed at the fire, Charles told them "not to fear the villains;" but they assured him that they did not care for themselves; their only fear was for him. "No fear of me!" was Charles's reply. Encouraged by the undaunted bravery of the prince, the boat's crew applied themselves with energy to their oars; on observing which the Macleods continued to fire at the boat till it got out of reach of their shot, but did no harm. Whilst the bullets were falling about the boat, Charles, it is said, requested Miss Macdonald to lie down in the bottom of the boat in order to avoid them; but, with a generosity of soul which stamps her among the first of her sex, she declined the proposal, and declared that, as she was endeavouring to preserve the life of her prince, she would never degrade herself by attending to the safety of her own person while that of her master was in jeopardy.

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She even solicited Charles to occupy the place he had assigned for her. The prince, as the danger increased, became more urgent; but no entreaties could prevail upon Miss Macdonald to abandon her intrepid resolution, till Charles offered to lie down along with her. Both accordingly lay down in the bottom of the boat, till out of reach of the bullets of the militia.

After escaping this danger they entered a small creek, and the party, after taking a short rest, proceeded to Kilbride, and landed near Mugstot or Moydhstat, the seat of Sir Alexander Macdonald, near the northern extremity of Skye. Sir Alexander was at this time with the Duke of Cumberland at Fort Augustus; and, as his lady was known to be a warm friend of the prince, Flora resolved to proceed to Moydhstat and acquaint her with Charles's arrival. Lady Margaret Macdonald had inherited the spirit of Jacobitism from her father Alexander, Earl of Eglintoun; and, as she knew that her husband was a Jacobite at heart, she was less scrupulous to assist the prince in his necessities. Knowing her good intentions, Charles had, about a week before his arrival in Skye, written her a letter, which was sent enclosed in one from Hugh Macdonald of Balishair, in North Uist, to his brother Donald Roy Macdonald, who was requested to deliver the letter into her ladyship's own hand. Balishair announced in the letter to his brother, that, as a very strict search was making in the Long Island for Charles, he intended to seek refuge upon a small grass island, called Fladdachuan, belonging to Sir Alexander Macdonald, lying to the north of Trotternish, with only one tenant upon it, and requesting him to keep a sharp lookout for the prince, to meet him upon Fladdachuan and provide him with necessaries. He was desired to show the letter to Lady Margaret, and after she had perused it to throw it into the fire;

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and he also requested that her ladyship should do the same with the letter sent her. The letter was accordingly delivered to Lady Margaret by Donald Roy, who burnt his own, as directed; but, on begging Lady Margaret to put hers into the fire, she rose up, and, kissing the letter, exclaimed: "No! I will not burn it. I will preserve it for the sake of him who wrote it to me. Although King George's forces should come to the house, I hope I shall find a way to secure the letter."

Leaving Charles in the boat, Miss Flora, accompanied by Neil Mac Eachan, set out for Moydhstat, to apprise Lady Margaret of her arrival. It was a fortunate circumstance that Charles was left behind, as there was a militia officer of the name of Macleod in the house, who, on Miss Macdonald's entering the room where he was sitting, questioned her very closely as to her journey; but she answered his interrogatories so readily, and with such apparent candour and simplicity, that he had not the least suspicion that she was any way concerned about the prince. Charles's arrival was not altogether unexpected, as she had been informed the day before by Mrs. Macdonald, wife of John Macdonald of Kirkebost, in North Uist, who had come from the Long Island, of the probability of his appearing speedily in Skye. Lady Margaret, on being informed of the prince's arrival in her neighbourhood, was greatly alarmed for his safety. Her active benevolence was ever seconded by superior talents; and, on the present occasion, she displayed a presence of mind and readiness of invention, which corresponded with these high qualifications. Mr. Macdonald of Kingsburgh, Sir Alexander's factor, being then in the house, she resolved to consult him in this emergency. Desirous also to avail herself of the services of Captain Roy Macdonald, who had visited Fladdachuan in quest of the prince, she sent an express



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to Trotternish, where he then resided, requesting his immediate attendance at Mugstot. Mounting his horse, he repaired to the spot, and found Lady Margaret and Kingsburgh walking together, above the garden of Mugstot, in serious conversation. On dismounting, Lady Margaret came up to him and exclaimed: "O Donald Roy, we are ruined for ever!" After a long consultation, Lady Margaret proposed that, as the prince could not remain long in Skye without being discovered, he should be conducted to old Raasay, who was himself concealed with some select friends, and that, in the meantime, he should take up his residence in Kingsburgh house.

During the time this consultation lasted, Charles remained upon the shore, at a short distance from the foot of the garden. Kingsburgh proposed to go and acquaint him of their determination; but, lest he might be observed by some of the military about the house, Neil Mac Eachan was sent to inform him that Kingsburgh meant to visit him, and to request that he would retire behind a neighbouring hill to escape observation. Taking with him some wine and provisions, Kingsburgh repaired to the spot where Mac Eachan had left Charles. To his great surprise, however, Charles was not to be seen, and he in vain searched for him in the neighbourhood of the place where he expected to meet him. Despairing of finding the prince, Kingsburgh would have returned to Mugstot; but the bounding of a flock of sheep at a distance, indicating that some person was at hand, Kingsburgh went forward to the place whence the sheep had fled, where he found the prince sitting on the ground. Charles started up when he saw Kingsburgh approaching. He advanced cautiously towards him, holding a large knotted stick in his hand, as if intending to knock down the stranger. "I am Macdonald of Kingsburgh, come to serve your High-

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ness," said the good Highlander, as he approached. "It is well," answered Charles, who went forward to receive his friend. They then saluted each other, and the prince took some refreshment. Kingsburgh then mentioned Lady Macdonald's plan, with which Charles having expressed himself satisfied, they both proceeded to Kingsburgh house.

Till the departure of Kingsburgh to meet Charles, the uneasiness of Lady Macdonald was extreme. Flora too, who had remarked her anxiety, had her misgivings lest the prince should be discovered; but with her wonted firmness she kept up the conversation with the commander of the detachment, till dinner was announced, by which time Charles was on his way to Kingsburgh. After dinner, Miss Macdonald rose to depart; but Lady Macdonald, in order to deceive the officer, pressed her to remain, and put her in mind that she had promised on a former occasion to make some stay the first time she should visit Moydhstat. Flora, however, excused herself, on the ground that she was anxious to be with her mother, who, in the absence of her husband, could not but feel uneasy in such troublesome times. With apparent reluctance Lady Margaret at length accepted her apology, under the condition that she should make amends for her sudden departure by making a longer stay at Moydhstat on her next visit.

Miss Macdonald accordingly proceeded on her journey, accompanied by Neil Mac Eachan, and by Mrs. Macdonald, the lady formerly mentioned, who was attended by a male and female servant. The whole party, who were on horseback, soon overtook the prince and Kingsburgh, who had gone so far by the common road. Mrs. Macdonald, who had never seen the prince before, was desirous of obtaining a view of his countenance, and made several attempts to look him in the face, but

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Charles always turned his head aside to avoid her gaze. Mrs. Macdonald's maid, observing this, and being struck with the uncouth appearance of the prince, remarked to Miss Flora that she had never before seen such an impudent looking woman as the one with whom Kingsburgh was walking, and stated her impression, that the singular looking stranger was either an Irishwoman, or a man in woman's clothes. Miss Macdonald informed the girl that she was quite right in her conjecture that the extraordinary looking female was an Irishwoman, for she knew her, having seen her before. The maid then exclaimed: " Bless me, what long strides the jade takes, and how awkwardly she manages her petticoats!" To put an end to the prying curiosity of Mrs. Macdonald's maid, and to prevent the servants of that lady from observing the route which the prince and Kingsburgh were about to take across the hills, Miss Macdonald called upon the party to ride faster, as they had a long way to travel. They accordingly set off at a trot, and, when the party were out of sight, the two pedestrians, to avoid the militia, who were on all the public roads, went off by an unfrequented path, and arrived at Kingsburgh house about eleven o'clock at night, and were almost immediately joined by Miss Macdonald and Neil Mac Eachan.

Not expecting her husband home at such a late hour, Mrs. Macdonald had undressed, and was just going into bed, when one of her maid servants entered her bedroom, and informed her that Kingsburgh had arrived, and had brought company with him, and that Miss Flora Macdonald was among the guests. Mrs. Macdonald sent down notice to Flora to this effect, that being sleepy and undressed she hoped she would excuse her for not coming down-stairs, but begged that she would use her freedom, and help herself to anything she might

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require. Immediately upon the departure of the servant down-stairs, a young girl, a daughter of Kingsburgh, entered her mother's apartment in a great hurry, and, with looks of surprise, informed her, that her father had brought to the house the most "odd muckle ill-shaken-up wife she had ever seen, and taken her into the hall too!" Before Mrs. Macdonald had time to form any conjecture on the subject, Kingsburgh himself entered his wife's bedchamber, and desired her to dress herself as fast as she could, and get some supper ready for his guests. Mrs. Macdonald asked the names of her visitors, but Kingsburgh said he had no time for explanation; and after telling her that she would know the whole matter in time, and urging her to make haste, he returned to his friends in the hall.

In compliance with her husband's desire, Mrs. Macdonald proceeded to dress herself, and sent her daughter down for her keys, which she had left in the hall. The girl went, but she returned almost instantly in a state of alarm, and told her mother that she was afraid to venture into the hall, as the tall woman was walking up and down in it. Mrs. Macdonald then went down herself; but on observing the prince striding through the hall she hesitated to enter, and calling to her husband requested him to go in and bring her the keys. Kingsburgh, however, refused to humour the pusillanimity of his wife, and she was at length obliged to enter.

When Mrs. Macdonald entered the hall, Charles, who, during the altercation between her and her husband, had taken a seat, rose up, and advancing, immediately saluted her agreeably to the Highland practice. Mrs. Macdonald, little expecting the roughness of a male chin under a female attire, began to tremble, and, without saying a word to the silent and mysterious being who stood before her, she hastened out of the hall,

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and going to her husband importuned him to inform her who the stranger was. She had not the least idea that the person who saluted her was the prince; and, imagining that the stranger was some nobleman or gentleman in disguise, she inquired if he knew what had become of the prince. Smiling at her simplicity, Kingsburgh said to her: "My dear, the person in the hall is the prince himself." Alarmed at this unexpected announcement, she exclaimed: "The prince! then we are all ruined: we will all be hanged now!" "Hout," replied Kingsburgh, "we can die but once; and if we are hanged for this we shall die in a good cause, doing only an act of humanity and charity. But go," continued he, "make haste with supper; bring us eggs, butter, cheese, and whatever else can be got quickly ready." "Eggs, butter, and cheese!" rejoined Mrs. Macdonald, "what a supper is that for a prince!" "Oh! wife," replied Kingsburgh, "you know little how this good prince has lived of late; this will be a feast to him. Besides, to make a formal supper would make the servants suspect something; the less ceremony, therefore, the better; make haste, and come to supper yourself." Mrs. Macdonald, doubtful of her own capabilities to conduct herself properly before royalty, exclaimed, "I come to supper! I know not how to behave before Majesty!" "You must come," replied Kingsburgh, "the prince will not eat one bit without you; and you'll find it no difficult matter to behave before him, so obliging and easy is he in his conversation."

At supper Charles placed Miss Flora on his right hand, and Mrs. Macdonald on his left. He always conferred the above mark of distinction on his young protectress, and whenever she came into any room where he was sitting, he always rose up on her entry. Charles made a hearty supper, and drank a bumper of brandy to the

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health and prosperity of Kingsburgh and his wife. After supper he smoked a pipe, a practice which he was obliged to adopt in his wanderings, to mitigate a toothache with which he was troubled. Having drank a few glasses of wine, and finished his pipe, Charles went to bed.

After Charles went to bed, Miss Flora, at the desire of Mrs. Macdonald, gave her a relation of the prince's adventures, in as far as she had been personally concerned. When she finished her recital, Mrs. Macdonald asked her what had become of the boatmen who brought the prince and her to Skye. Miss Macdonald answered, that they had been sent directly back to South Uist. Mrs. Macdonald observed that it was wrong to have sent the boat back immediately, as in case of capture on their return, the boatmen might disclose the business which brought them to Skye, and the prince's pursuers might in consequence overtake him before he could leave that island. Mrs. Macdonald was right in her conjecture; for the boatmen were seized on their return to South Uist, and being threatened with torture, and ultimately with death, revealed all they knew, giving even a minute description of the prince's dress. To lessen the dangers of a discovery of the prince's route, Flora advised the prince to change his clothes next day, a proposal which met with his cordial approbation, as he found the female attire very cumbrous.

The luxury of a good bed had not been enjoyed by Charles for many weeks. Three, or at most four, hours' sleep was all he had generally been accustomed to during his wanderings; but on the present occasion he slept ten hours without interruption, and might have added a few more to the number, had he not been wakened by Kingsburgh, who was prevailed upon by Miss Macdonald, contrary to his own inclination, to rouse him.

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He informed Kingsburgh, in answer to a kind inquiry how he had reposed, that he never slept better nor sounder in his life. In talking of Charles's intended departure, Kingsburgh, acting upon Flora's suggestion, urged upon the prince the propriety of changing his dress, lest the circumstance of his being in female attire might transpire, and Kingsburgh offered him a Highland dress of his own. Charles at once assented to the proposal; but, to prevent suspicion among the servants, and to keep them in ignorance of the nature and description of the new dress in which Charles was to travel, it was arranged that he should leave the house in the same dress he entered it, and, when out of reach of observation, assume that offered to him by his kind entertainer.

Having dressed himself, the ladies went into his chamber to pin his cap, put on his apron, and adjust the other parts of his dress. Before Miss Macdonald put on the cap, Mrs. Macdonald requested her, in Gaelic, to ask Charles for a lock of his hair. Flora declined, desiring her, at the same time, to make the application herself to his Royal Highness. The prince, though unable to comprehend what they were saying, clearly perceived that they were disputing about something, and, desiring to know the subject of altercation, was informed thereof by Mrs. Macdonald. Charles then told her that her request was granted, and laying down his head upon Flora's lap, he desired her to cut off a lock. She complied, and divided the destined relic between them. Before leaving the house Kingsburgh thought there was an article of dress that Charles might instantly change without much risk. This was his shoes, which were so much worn that his toes protruded through them. He, therefore, presented a new pair of his own to his Royal Highness, and, taking up the out-worn brogues,



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said to Charles: "I will faithfully keep them till you are safely in St. James's; I will introduce myself by shaking them at you, to put you in mind of your night's entertainment and protection under my roof." The prince, amused with the quaintness of the idea, could not refrain from smiling, and, to humour the joke, enjoined his host to keep his promise. Kingsburgh kept the shoes as long as he lived, and after his death they were purchased by a zealous Jacobite gentleman, who gave twenty guineas for them.

On being dressed, the prince partook of breakfast, and having taken a kind leave of Mrs. Macdonald, left Kingsburgh house for Portree, where it had been concerted he should embark for the island of Raasay. He was accompanied by Miss Flora and Kingsburgh, who carried under his arm the suit of clothes designed for the prince. When Charles left the house, Mrs. Macdonald went up-stairs to the room in which he had slept, and, folding the sheets in which he had lain, put them carefully aside, declaring that henceforth they should never again be washed or used till her death, when they should serve her as a winding sheet; to which use they were accordingly applied, in fulfilment of injunctions she delivered before her death.<sup>1</sup> After walking a short distance from the house, Charles and Kingsburgh entered a wood, where the prince threw off his female attire, and put on the clothes which his good friend had provided. These consisted of a tartan short coat and waistcoat, with philibeg and short hose, a plaid, and a wig and bonnet. When Charles had shifted, he embraced Kingsburgh, and thanked him for his valuable services, which he assured him he would never forget. Both wept, and the prince was so excited, that a few drops of blood fell from his nose. Charles, conducted by a guide, then set out on foot across the hills, and Miss Macdonald



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took another and a shorter way on horseback, to obtain intelligence, and prevent a discovery.

In consequence of the resolution to proceed to Raasay, Donald Roy had been despatched from Mugstot by Kingsburgh the preceding day, in quest of John Macleod, the young laird of Raasay, to ascertain from him the place of his father's concealment, in order to communicate to him Charles's design of placing himself under his protection. When it is considered that Macleod, the laird of Raasay, was himself a fugitive for the part he had taken in the insurrection, such a design may appear singular; but the prince had only a choice of difficulties before him, and the little island of Raasay, which was then clear of troops, appeared to offer the securest retreat. Donald Roy met young Raasay at Portree, who informed him that his father was skulking in Knoydart; but offered to send an express for him, being certain his father would run any risk to serve the prince in his distress. Donald Roy then proposed that he should conduct Charles to the mainland, to the place where old Raasay was; but young Raasay said that such a step would be too dangerous at that time, and that it would be better to conceal the prince in the isle of Raasay till his father should be informed of Charles's intention to put himself under his protection. As they could not trust a Portree crew, the difficulty of transporting the prince to Raasay, without observation, occurred. Dr. Murdoch Macleod, a brother of young Raasay, who had been wounded at the battle of Culloden, being informed of this dilemma, said he would risk his life once more for the prince, and it having occurred to him that there was a little boat upon a fresh water lake in the neighbourhood, the two brothers, with the aid of some women, by extraordinary exertions, brought the boat to sea, over a Highland mile of land, one half

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of which was bog, and the other a steep precipice. The two brothers, with the assistance of a little boy, rowed the boat, which was very old and leaky, to Raasay.

Malcolm Macleod, young Raasay's cousin, who will be frequently mentioned in the sequel, was then in the island. He had been a captain in the prince's service, and was considered by his cousin a proper person to accompany them on their expedition. They accordingly waited on Malcolm, who offered to provide a boat; but he proposed, that as his cousin, young Raasay, had not been engaged in the insurrection, he should not run any risk by holding any communication with the prince, more particularly as Charles could be brought over without his assistance. Young Raasay, resolutely bent upon seeing Charles, declared his resolution to see the prince, if the result should be the loss of the estate as well as of his head; and Malcolm, seeing that any farther attempt to dissuade him would be fruitless, exclaimed: "In God's name then let us proceed." Malcolm Macleod pitched upon two strong men, named John Mackenzie and Donald Macfriad, to row the boat; but when they came to the beach, they declined to leave the shore till informed of their destination. They were then sworn to secrecy, and being told the object of their voyage, professed the utmost alacrity to go to sea. The whole party accordingly set off from Raasay on Monday evening, the thirtieth of June, and landed about half a mile from Portree. By this time Miss Macdonald had arrived at the inn, where Donald Roy was in waiting to receive her and the prince. Leaving young Raasay and his brother in the boat, Malcolm Macleod, accompanied by Macfriad, went towards the inn, and in walking from the shore he observed three persons proceeding in the direction of the inn, who happened to be the prince, Neil Mac Eachan, and a little

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boy who had served as Charles's guide from Kingsburgh.

Donald Roy Macdonald had left the inn shortly after Miss Macdonald's arrival, for the purpose of meeting Charles; but, after remaining out about twenty minutes without seeing him, he returned to the house, afraid lest the rain, which fell in torrents, might fester a wound in his foot which he had received at the battle of Culloden, and which was still open. He had scarcely entered the inn, when Macnab, the landlord, informed him that a boy wanted to see him. The boy, whose name was Macqueen, having informed Donald Roy that a gentleman who was waiting a little above the house wished to speak with him, he went out and met the prince, who caught him in his arms. Donald then conducted him into the inn. Charles was wet to the skin, and the water poured down from his clothes. The first thing he asked for was a dram, on taking which he proceeded to shift himself. He put on a dry shirt; but before he had replaced the other habiliments which he had thrown off, a supply of roasted fish, bread, cheese, and butter was brought into the room, which the prince attacked with such avidity that Donald Roy could not help smiling; and being observed by the prince, he remarked that he believed the prince was following the English fashion. "What fashion do you mean?" said the prince. "Why," replied Donald Roy, "they say the English, when they are to eat heartily, throw off their clothes." The prince smiling, said: "They are in the right, lest any thing should incommode their hands when they are at work." Asking for some drink, Charles was told that there were no liquids of any sort in the house but whiskey and water, not even milk, of which he had desired a little. The only substitute in the room for a tumbler or jug was a dirty-looking bucket, which the

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landlord used for throwing the water out of his boat, and the mouth of which was broken and rough from the frequent use to which it had been thus applied. Donald Roy, who had previously quaffed out of the bucket, handed it to Charles, who took it out of his hand, and after looking at it, stared Donald in the face. As the landlord was in the room, Donald was afraid that, from the shyness of Charles to drink out of a dish to which no objection perhaps had ever before been stated, he might think he had a visitor of distinction in his house, and he therefore went up to Charles, and in a gentle whisper desired him to drink out of the obnoxious vessel without ceremony. Charles, taking the hint, put the pail to his head, and took a hearty draught of water.

Malcolm Macleod, on being informed of the prince's arrival at the inn, had returned to the boat, and with his cousins waited anxiously for the prince. On the landlord of the inn leaving the room, Donald Roy, who had grown impatient to get away, urged the prince to depart; but Charles showed no inclination to leave the inn, and even proposed to remain there all night, as the rain was still heavy. Donald told him that as the house he was in was frequented by all kinds of people, he would incur danger by remaining; for the very appearance of a stranger would excite speculation among the country people, who were always desirous to know who the persons were that came among them. Charles assented to the correctness of Donald's observations, but called for some tobacco that he might smoke a pipe before his departure. There being no tobacco in the house but roll or pigtail, Charles said it would answer very well; and the landlord, at the request of Donald Roy, brought in a quarter of a pound in the scales in which it had been weighed. The price was fourpence

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halfpenny, and Charles gave the landlord a sixpence. Donald Roy desired him to bring in the difference. The prince smiled, and on the change being brought he refused to receive it. Donald, however, insisted that he should take the three halfpence; because he considered that in his present situation he might find "bawbees" very useful. Donald then opened Charles's sporan; and, finding an empty partition, put the three halfpence into it. In paying his bill Charles got change for a guinea. He then desired the landlord to give him silver for another, but Macnab could muster only eleven shillings. Charles, thinking that eleven shillings would be more useful to him than a guinea in gold, proposed to take the silver; but Donald, prudently judging that such a piece of liberality might excite a suspicion in the breast of the landlord as to the rank of the donor, persuaded Charles to retain his guinea, which Donald Roy contrived to obtain silver for.

When about to leave the inn, Charles solicited Donald Roy to accompany him to Raasay, observing that he had always found himself safe in the hands of the Macdonalds, and that as long as he had a Macdonald with him he would still think himself safe. This faithful attendant, whilst he stated his inclination to serve the prince in his distress, represented to him the impossibility of following him from place to place, in consequence of the wound in his left foot, which rendered him incapable of enduring fatigue; and that as he would be obliged from his lameness to travel occasionally on horseback, his presence would only endanger the safety of the prince. He agreed, however, to meet Charles in Raasay in a few days, and stated that, in the meantime, he would remain in Skye, and collect for the future guidance of the prince such information as he could, in relation to the movements and plans of his pursuers.

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Before leaving Portree Charles had a most painful task to perform, that of parting with the amiable and high-minded young woman, who, during three eventful days, had with generous sympathy, and at the imminent hazard of her own life, watched over him with the tenderest solicitude and affection, and rescued him from the many perils with which he had been environed. He repaid Miss Flora a small sum of money he had borrowed from her, and, presenting her with his own portrait in miniature, saluted her. He then returned her his sincere thanks for the great assistance she had afforded him, and taking leave, expressed a hope that, notwithstanding the present unfavourable aspect of his affairs, he should yet meet her in St. James's. He also took farewell of Neil Mac Eachan, who certainly at that time had no expectation that he was to be one of those who were afterward to accompany the prince to France.

Charles had brought along with him from Kingsburgh, four shirts, a cold fowl, some sugar, and a bottle of brandy. To this small stock he added at Portree a bottle of usquebaugh. He tied this bottle to his belt at one side, and at the other the bottle of brandy, and the shirts and cold fowl which were put up in a handkerchief. Thus provided, Charles left the inn, accompanied by Donald Roy, on the morning of the first of July, while it was yet dark. The landlord, surprised perhaps at the early departure of his guests, cast a look after them as they went out at the door, which being observed by Charles's conductor, he led the prince off in a direction opposite to that they had to go, till out of view of the landlord, and then making a circle they went down towards the shore, and in their way met Malcolm Macleod, who conducted the prince to the boat. He then took leave of Donald Roy, whom

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he enjoined not to mention the place of his destination to any person, not even to his fair protectress. Donald returned to the inn, and was immediately accosted by his host, who expressed a strong desire to know the name of the gentleman who had left his house. Donald told him, with apparent unconcern, that the stranger who had gone away was Sir John Macdonald, an Irish gentleman, and a brother rebel, who, having got free of his enemies, had been skulking among his friends, the Macdonalds of Skye; and that, tired of remaining in one place, and afraid of being discovered in the island, he had set out for the mainland to seek an asylum among the other Macdonalds. The landlord, whom he enjoined to secrecy, apparently satisfied with this explanation, said that he was strongly impressed with an idea that the gentleman was the prince in disguise, as he observed something about him that looked very noble.

Portree (in Gaelic Portrigh), a small bay opposite the island of Raasay, from which Charles was about to depart, had derived its name, which signifies the King's Port, from the circumstance of King James the Fifth having landed there during his excursion amongst the Western Islands. Charles left this creek after midnight, under the protection of the enthusiastic young laird of Raasay, to whom Malcolm Macleod introduced him when he entered the boat. As the two boatmen had served in the prince's army, the whole party, with the exception of young Raasay himself, were under the ban of the government, and the young laird, whose only motive in not joining the insurrection was probably a desire to save the estate, now fearlessly put his life and fortune in jeopardy, when the risk was even greater.

Charles slept a little upon the passage, and reached Raasay about daybreak, a few hours after his departure from Portree. The party landed at a place called Glam,



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about the distance of ten miles from that haven. Charles, Malcolm, and Murdoch Macleod took up their abode in a wretched hut which some shepherds had lately erected. They had no bedding of any sort, and were obliged to repose upon some heath. On entering the hut they kindled a fire and partook of some provisions. On this as on other occasions, Charles, to please the Highlanders, never tasted wheat-bread or brandy while oat-bread and whisky lasted, for, he observed, that these last were his "own country bread and drink." Young Raasay had nothing to dread from his own people; and, lest the military might revisit the island, he placed the two boatmen upon different eminences to watch their approach. He visited Charles and his friends occasionally, and always carried provisions along with him. Though comparatively secure, Charles was very uneasy in his new retreat; and frequent starts and exclamations in his slumbers indicated the agitated workings of his mind. Malcolm Macleod often overheard him in his sleep muttering imperfect sentences, in Italian, French, and English. One of his expressions in English was: "O God! poor Scotland!"

During Charles's stay in Raasay no person visited the island, but he and his friends were kept in a state of uneasiness by a person who prowled about without any apparent business, and who had come into the island to sell a roll of tobacco. He had arrived about twelve or fourteen days before Charles. Having disposed of his merchandise very speedily, it was expected that he would have departed, but continuing to stroll up and down the island in an idle way, he was suspected to be a spy. Malcolm Macleod happening to see him approaching the hut one day, a council of war was held by Charles and his friends. The three Macleods were for putting the poor tobacco vendor



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to death, and Malcolm Macleod offered to go out immediately and shoot him through the head; but Charles indignantly reprobated the inhuman proposal. "God forbid," said he, "that we should take away a man's life, who may be innocent, while we can preserve our own." John Mackenzie, who sat as sentinel at the door, overhearing the debate, said to himself in Gaelic: "Well, well; he must be shot; you are the king, but we are the parliament, and will do what we choose." Observing his friends smile, Charles asked what John had said; and being told the man's observation in English, the prince observed that he was a clever fellow; and, notwithstanding his perilous situation, laughed loud and heartily. Notwithstanding Charles's remonstrances, the stranger would have been despatched had he entered the hut, but luckily he walked past without looking into it. It was afterward ascertained that the stranger himself was a fugitive from the Highland army. While Charles resided in this hut, he and his companions indulged in a great deal of conversation. Alluding to passing events and his present situation, the prince observed that his life was to be sure a very hard one; but that he would rather live in the way he then did for ten years, than fall into the hands of his enemies, not because he believed they would dare to take away his life publicly, but because he dreaded being poisoned or assassinated. He was very particular in his inquiries of Doctor Macleod about the wound he had received at Culloden, from a ball which entered at one shoulder and went across to the other. He threw out some reflections upon the conduct of some of his officers at Culloden, but confessed that perhaps it was rash in him to do so. Talking of the different Highland corps, the Macleods asked Charles which, in his opinion, were the best soldiers; but he evaded a direct answer, said he did

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not like comparisons among such corps; and that they were all best.

Charles resided two days in Raasay, when becoming uneasy, and thinking the island too narrow and confined for the purpose of concealment, he resolved to depart. Understanding that he expected a French ship at Lochbroom, Malcolm Macleod offered to carry him thither, but Charles declined the proposal on account of the danger of the voyage in a small boat. He expressed a wish to go to Trotternish in Skye, but his friends attempted to dissuade him, as they considered him safer in Raasay. Persisting however in going, the whole party, including the two boatmen, left Raasay on the evening of the second of July, in the same boat which they had used to carry them into the island. After they had gone a little off the shore the wind began to blow hard, and soon increased to a gale. The sea became so very rough, that the waves broke over the boat and almost filled it with water. All on board begged the prince to return, but he declined, observing, that as Providence had carried him through so many dangers, he did not doubt of the same care now as before. To encourage the men who kept tugging at the oars, whilst Malcolm Macleod occupied himself in throwing out the water, Charles sung a lively Gaelic song with much vivacity, having by this time obtained a pretty good knowledge of Gaelic. About eleven o'clock at night they landed at a place in Skye, called Nicolson's rock, near Scorobreck in Trotternish, after a very boisterous voyage of about fifteen miles. There was a large surf on the shore, and there being no convenient landing-place, they had to jump out among the water. Charles was the third man who leapt into the sea. Standing in the surf, the whole party, including Charles, laid hold of the boat and drew it up on dry ground. The

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prince wore a large greatcoat, which had become very heavy and cumbersome from the water. As the ascent up the rock was very steep and troublesome, Malcolm offered to carry the coat, but Charles refused to part with it.

On this desolate coast, the royal wanderer could find no other resting place than a cow house, belonging to Mr. Nicolson of Scrobreck, about two miles from that gentleman's seat. The party entered this wretched hovel and took a little refreshment of oat cakes, which had mouldered down into very small crumbs, and some cheese. Charles being wet to the skin, Malcolm Macleod advised him to put on a dry shirt. This he declined, and continued to sit in his wet clothes. Overcome with fatigue he fell asleep; but he enjoyed little sound repose. He would frequently start in his sleep, look briskly up, and stare boldly around him, as if about to fight the persons around him. "Oh, poor England! poor England!" were the exclamations he would sometimes utter, with a deep sigh, during these disturbed moments.

In all his wanderings it was the constant practice of Charles to conceal his future movements from every person with whose services he was about to dispense, so as to prevent any clue to his discovery. Wishing to get quit of young Raasay and his brother, he despatched the former to look out for Donald Roy, and he desired the latter to go to a place called Cammistinawag, where he would meet him. Murdoch Macleod and the two boatmen then took leave. At parting he presented Murdoch with a case, containing a silver spoon, knife, and fork, which he requested him to keep till they met.

The prince and Malcolm Macleod remained in the hut till seven o'clock in the morning, when Charles, taking the little baggage in his hand, walked out, and desired Malcolm to follow him. Macleod took the bundle out

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of Charles's hand, and followed him in silence till out of sight of the cow house, when Charles taking a direction Malcolm did not like, this faithful adherent went up to him and asked him where he was going, as he was afraid that he might fall into the hands of one of the numerous military parties, who were dispersed over the island. "Why, Macleod," replied Charles, "I now throw myself entirely into your hands, and leave you to do with me what you please; only I want to go to Strath, Mackinnon's country. I hope you will accompany me, if you think you can lead me safe enough into Strath." Malcolm declared that he would go with his Royal Highness wherever he pleased, and offered to bring him safe into that part of Skye which belonged to the chief of Mackinnon, provided he would consent to go by sea; but Macleod objected to a journey over land which he considered would be attended with dangers from the soldiers. Charles, however, insisted on going by land, and observed that they could now do nothing without danger. The better to prevent a discovery, Charles proposed that he should act the part of Macleod's servant, and that he should assume the name of Lewis Caw, there being at the time a young surgeon of that name, who had been in the prince's service, skulking in Skye, where he had some relations. Observing that his scarlet tartan waistcoat with gold twist buttons, was finer than that worn by Macleod, which was of plain ordinary tartan, Charles exchanged it for Macleod's. Then taking the bag which contained his linen out of Malcolm's hands, Charles threw it over his shoulder, and set out on his perilous journey, preceded by the faithful Malcolm, who, to complete the deception, had proposed that Charles should keep up his new character of a gilly or footman, by walking in the rear.

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Strath, the country of the Mackinnons, was at a considerable distance, and the route to it which the two travellers took lay through one of the wildest and most mountainous districts of the island. Though a good pedestrian, Malcolm could scarcely keep his distance ahead of Charles, whose locomotive powers were surprising, there being few persons who could match him at walking. Alluding to his celerity of foot, he told Malcolm that provided he got out of musket shot, he had no dread of a pursuit by English soldiers, but he had not the same confidence if chased by a party of Highland militia. He asked Malcolm what they would do in the event of meeting any persons among the mountains, who might attempt to kill or take them. "That depends upon their numbers," replied Malcolm; "if there should be no more than four of them, I'll engage to manage two." "And I," rejoined Charles, "will engage to manage the other two." Malcolm, in his turn, asked Charles what they should do if attacked by a party of English soldiers. "Fight, to be sure," was the reply.

As Malcolm expected that they would fall in with some of the country people before they came to the end of their journey, by whom, from his being well known in the island, he might be recognized, he desired Charles not to evince any anxiety when he (Malcolm) should speak to them, but remove to a short distance and sit down till the conversation ended. They met a few of these people from time to time, on which occasion Charles not only observed the injunction of Malcolm, but superadded the customary menial duty, of touching his bonnet when addressed by his supposed master. With the exception of a bottle of brandy, the two travellers appear to have had no other sustenance during their long and fatiguing journey. When reduced to a

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single glass, Charles urged Malcolm to take it, lest he should faint with the excessive fatigue. Malcolm refused, and insisted that the prince himself should drink it, but Charles resolutely refused, and compelled Malcolm to drain the bottle. Malcolm then hid the bottle in a thick bush of heath, where he found it about three years thereafter. Honest Macleod long preserved it "as a curious piece," which he expected would one day make a figure in Westminster.

When opportunity offered, the prince and Malcolm relieved the tediousness of the journey, by conversing on a variety of topics. The conversation happening to turn upon Lord George Murray, Charles observed that his lordship, whether from ignorance or with a view to betray him, he would not say, misconducted himself in not obeying orders, and that in particular, for two or three days before the battle of Culloden, Lord George scarcely did anything he desired him to do. When Malcolm told him of the many atrocities committed after that battle, he appeared amazed, and said: "Surely that man who calls himself the duke, and pretends to be so great a general, cannot be guilty of such cruelties. I cannot believe it." Talking of the fatigues he was obliged to undergo, the prince said: "Do you not think, Macleod, that God Almighty has made this person of mine for doing some good yet. When I was in Italy, and dining at the king's," his father's, "table, very often the sweat would have been coming through my coat with the heat of the climate, and now that I am in a cold country, where the climate is more trying and exposed to different kinds of fatigues, I really find I agree equally with both. I have had," pointing to his kilt, "this philibeg on now for some days, and I find I do as well with it as any of the best breeches I ever put on. I hope in God, Macleod, to walk the streets of

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London with it yet." A man holding such sentiments as these was not likely to be easily discouraged.

When approaching Mackinnon's bounds, Malcolm stated to the prince his apprehensions, that, disguised as he was, he was afraid he would still be recognized by some of Mackinnon's people, who had been out in his service. He, therefore, suggested that Charles should disguise himself still farther. The prince then proposed to blacken his face with powder; but Macleod objected to this plan, which, he said, would tend rather to discover than to conceal him. "Then," observed Charles, "I must be put into the greatest dishabille possible;" and pulling off his wig and putting it into his pocket, took out a dirty white napkin, which Malcolm, at his desire, tied about his head close to his eyebrows. He then put off his bonnet, tore the ruffles from his shirt, and took the buckles out of his shoes, and made Macleod fasten them with strings. Charles now asked his friend if he thought he would still be recognized, and on Malcolm answering that he thought he would, Charles said, "I have so odd a face, that no man that ever saw me once but would know me again." In Malcolm's opinion, Charles, though almost a Proteus, could never disguise his majestic mien and carriage; and he declared that there was not a person who knew what the air of a noble or great man was, that would not, upon seeing the prince, however disguised he might be, at once perceive something about him that was not ordinary, — something of the stately and grand.

They had not gone far after this conversation, when Malcolm Macleod's opinion was verified, for no sooner had the travellers entered Strath, than Charles was recognized by two men of Mackinnon's clan, who had been out in the insurrection. They stared at the prince for a little, and on discovering him, lifted up their hands



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and wept bitterly. Malcolm begged that they would compose themselves, lest by showing so much concern they might discover the prince. After cautioning them not to mention the meeting to any one, he swore them to secrecy upon his naked dirk, and then dismissed them. They kept their word.

Being within two miles of the laird of Mackinnon's house, Malcolm asked him if he wished to see the old chief. "No," said Charles, "by no means. I know Mackinnon to be as good and as honest a man as any in the world; but he is not fit for my purpose at present. You must conduct me to some other house, but let it be a gentleman's house." They then proceeded, at Malcolm's suggestion, to a place called Ellagol, or rather Ellighiul, near Kilvory or Kilmaree, where they arrived in the morning after a journey of twenty-four Highland miles, being upwards of thirty English miles. At Ellagol there lived one, John Mackinnon, who had served as captain under the laird of Mackinnon, and had married a sister of Malcolm. Being desirous to ascertain the state of matters in the neighbourhood before conducting Charles into the house of his brother-in-law, Malcolm left the prince at a little distance from the house, and went forward to make the necessary inquiries. He found that Mackinnon was from home; and on informing his sister that he had come to stay a short time at Ellagol, if he could do so with safety, she assured him that he would be perfectly safe, as there were no military people about the place, and that he was very welcome. Malcolm then told that he had nobody along with him but one, Lewis Caw, son of Mr. Caw, a surgeon in Crieff, whom, being a fugitive like himself, he had engaged as his servant, but that he had fallen sick. Mrs. Mackinnon felt interested in the stranger, and requested her brother to bring him in.



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Charles accordingly entered with the baggage on his back, and, taking off his bonnet, made a low bow, and sat down at a distance from Malcolm. Mrs. Mackinnon looked at the prince, and instantly her sympathy was excited. "Poor man!" she exclaimed, "I pity him. At the same time, my heart warms to a man of his appearance." Malcolm having told his sister that he was almost famishing with hunger, she set before him a plentiful Highland breakfast. Charles still sitting at a respectful distance, Malcolm invited him, as there were no strangers in the house, to draw near and share with him, there being abundance for both. Charles appeared very backward to obey the summons to eat, and said that though in an humble station, he knew better how to conduct himself than by sitting at the same table with his master; but Malcolm pretending to insist upon compliance, Charles rose from his seat, made a profound bow, and advancing towards the table, sat down, and attacked the viands without farther ceremony.

In the course of their journey, Charles and his companion had fallen into a bog during the night, and as their feet and legs were still dirty, Malcolm desired the servant-maid in Gaelic, as she could not speak English, to bring some water into the room, and as he was much fatigued, to wash them. Whilst in the act of washing Macleod's feet, he said to the girl: "You see that poor sick man there. I hope you'll wash his feet too. It will be a great charity; for he has as much need as I have." "No such thing," said she, "although I wash the master's feet, I am not obliged to wash the servant's. What! he's but a low country woman's son. I will not wash his feet indeed." Malcolm, however, with much entreaty, prevailed upon the girl to wash Charles's feet and legs; but being rather rough in her treatment,

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he implored Macleod to desire her not to rub so hard.

After this operation the wearied travellers went to bed; and at the desire of Malcolm, Mrs. Mackinnon went out of the house, and sat down upon a neighbouring knoll, where she kept watch, whilst her guests remained in bed. Charles, who had thrown himself upon the bed in his clothes, slept two hours only; but Malcolm slept much longer. When Macleod awoke, he was surprised to find Charles out of bed dandling Mrs. Mackinnon's child, singing to it, and appearing as alert as if he had been in bed all night. He expressed a hope that the little boy — Neil Mackinnon — whom he carried in his arms, would be one day a captain in his service.

Informed that his brother-in-law was seen approaching the house, Malcolm went out to meet him. After the usual salutations, Malcolm, pointing to some ships of war that were hovering about the coast, said to Mackinnon, "What if the prince be on board one of them?" "God forbid," replied Mackinnon, "I would not wish that for anything." "What," said Malcolm, "if he were here, John? Do you think he would be safe enough?" "I wish we had him here," rejoined Mackinnon, "for he would be safe enough." Macleod, now fully assured that his brother-in-law might be confided in, said, "Well, then, he is now in your house." Mackinnon, transported with joy, was for running directly in and paying his obeisance to the prince; but Malcolm stopped him for a little, till he should recover from his surprise. "When you go in," continued Malcolm, "you must not take any notice of him, lest the servants or others observe you. He passes for one, Lewis Caw, my servant." Mackinnon promised to observe faithfully the injunction given him, which he thought he would be

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able to fulfil; but, as soon as he entered the house, he could not avoid fixing his eyes upon Charles; and unable to repress his feelings at the spectacle he beheld, this generous and faithful Highlander, turning his face aside, burst into tears. To prevent suspicion, Mackinnon, at Malcolm's desire, left the room to compose himself.

Before being introduced to the prince, Mackinnon sent away all his servants from the house on different messages, and, during their absence, a consultation was held as to Charles's future destination. It was then resolved that he should proceed to the mainland immediately; and John Mackinnon was directed to go and hire a boat, as if for the sole use of his brother-in-law. As the laird of Mackinnon was old and infirm, and could be of little service to Charles in his present situation, Mackinnon was enjoined not to say anything about Charles to his chief, should he fall in with him. Meeting the old chieftain, however, on his way, Mackinnon, unable or unwilling to conceal the fact of the prince's arrival at Ellagol, disclosed the secret, and mentioned that he was going to hire a boat to carry Charles to the mainland. Gratified with the intelligence, the chief desired his clansman not to give himself any farther trouble about a boat, as he would provide a good one himself, and would wait upon the prince immediately. John returned to Ellagol, and having informed Charles of the interview with the laird, the latter said that he was sorry that Mackinnon had divulged the secret; but as there was now no help for it, he would comport himself according to circumstances. In a short time the aged chief appeared, and after doing homage to the royal wanderer, he conducted the prince to a neighbouring cave, where he found Lady Mackinnon, who had laid out a refreshment of cold meat and wine, of which the whole party partook.

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Before the arrival of the chief, Malcolm Macleod had represented to the prince, that, being within the laird's bounds, it would be necessary to allow him to direct everything in relation to the voyage, and, to prevent a difference of opinion arising between him and the chief, he suggested the propriety of remaining behind. Charles, extremely unwilling to part with one who had rendered him such important services, insisted upon his going along with him to the mainland; but Malcolm insisting on the other hand that the measure was proper, Charles, with much reluctance, consented to part with the faithful Macleod.

About eight o'clock at night the party left the cave, and proceeded towards the place where the boat lay. In their way they observed two English men-of-war standing in for the island, before the wind, under a press of sail. Malcolm thereupon entreated the prince to defer his voyage till such time, at least, as these vessels should take another course, more particularly as the wind was against him; but Charles disregarded the admonition, and observed that, after so many escapes, he had no apprehensions of being caught at that time; that Providence would still take care of him; and that he had no doubt of obtaining a favourable wind immediately. Recollecting his sham appointment with Murdoch Macleod, for not keeping which Malcolm promised to make his apology, Charles thought the least thing he could do was to notify his departure, which he accordingly did, by writing him a short note, which he delivered to Malcolm. He then desired Malcolm to light his pipe, as he wished to enjoy a smoke with him before parting. Snapping his gun, Malcolm, by means of the flash in the pan, lighted some tow which he held at the mouth of the pipe whilst Charles blew it. As the pipe was extremely short, Charles's cheek was scorched with

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the blaze of the tow. At parting, Charles presented him with a silver stock-buckle, and then embracing Malcolm in his arms, saluted him twice, and begging God to bless him, put ten guineas into his hand. Malcolm at first positively refused to accept the money, as he perceived that the prince's purse was much exhausted; but Charles insisted upon his taking it, and assuring him that he would get enough for all his wants upon the mainland, Malcolm yielded. Having procured a better pipe, Charles presented the one with which he had been smoking to Malcolm, who preserved it with great care.

Between eight and nine o'clock in the evening of Friday, the fourth of July, the prince departed for the mainland, accompanied by the chief and John Mac-kinnon. The observation of Charles, that he would obtain a fair wind after putting to sea, had made a deep impression upon the superstitious mind of the generous Malcolm, who accordingly sat down upon the side of a hill to watch the expected change, which, according to him, took place very soon, for the crew had not rowed the boat half a mile from the shore in the direction of the ships, before the wind chopped about, and whilst it favoured the prince, drove the men-of-war out of sight.

After a rough voyage, the party reached a place called Little Mallag or Malleck, on the south side of Loch Nevis in Moidart, distant about thirty miles from the place where they had embarked. At sea they met a boat, containing some armed militia. No attempt was made to board, and a few words were exchanged in passing. Charles's visit to Skye soon became public, and the fact of his having been harboured and protected by certain persons in that island could not be disguised. Malcolm Macleod's connection with the prince being reported, he was apprehended a few days after Charles's

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departure for the mainland, put on board a ship, and conveyed to London, where he remained a prisoner till the first of July, 1747, when he was discharged without being asked a single question. Kingsburgh also was taken up and conveyed to Fort Augustus, where, after being plundered of his shoe-buckles, garters, watch, and money, he was thrown into a dungeon, and loaded with irons. He was discharged by mistake for another person of the same name, but was brought back, and afterward conveyed to Edinburgh, and committed to the castle, in which he remained till the fourth of July, in the same year.

Flora Macdonald was also apprehended about the same time by a party of militia, while on her way to the house of Donald Macdonald, of Castleton, in Skye, who had sent her notice that Macleod of Talisker, an officer of an independent company, had requested him to send for her. She was put on board the *Furnace Bomb*, and afterwards removed to Commodore Smith's sloop, and treated with great kindness and attention by him and General Campbell. She was confined a short time in Dunstaffnage castle. After being conveyed from place to place, she was put on board the *Royal Sovereign*, lying at the Nore, on the twenty-eighth of November, and carried up to London on the sixth of December following, where she remained in confinement till July in the following year, when she was discharged, at the especial request — according to the tradition of her family — of Frederick, Prince of Wales, father of George III, without a single question having been put to her. After her liberation, Miss Macdonald was invited to the house of Lady Primrose, a zealous Jacobite lady, where she was visited by a number of distinguished persons, who loaded her with presents. She and Malcolm Macleod returned to Scotland to-

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gether in a post-chaise provided by Lady Primrose, and, on their way, paid a visit to Doctor Burton at York, who had been previously liberated from jail. This gentleman having asked Malcolm his opinion of the prince, the trusty Highlander replied, that "he was the most cautious man he ever saw, not to be a coward, and the bravest, not to be rash." Few persons, nowadays, will be disposed to concur in this eulogium, for though personally brave, Charles was extremely rash and inconsiderate.

## CHAPTER IV

### PURSUIT AND ESCAPE OF CHARLES

As parties of the military were known to be stationed at a short distance from the place where Charles and his party landed, they were afraid to leave it, and slept three nights in the open air on the banks of Loch Nevis. On the fourth day the old laird and one of the boatmen ventured a little way into the country in quest of a place of concealment; and the prince, along with John Mackinnon and the other three boatmen, proceeded up the loch close to the shore. In turning a point they unexpectedly came upon a boat tied to a rock, and so near as to touch her with their oars. This boat belonged to a militia party who were seen standing on the shore, and were at once recognized by their badge, which was a red cross on their bonnets. This party immediately hailed the boat, and demanded to know whence they came. The boatmen answered that they were from Sleat. The militiamen then ordered the boat to come ashore; but the boatmen continuing to row, the military jumped into their boat and gave chase. Charles, who lay in the bottom of the boat with John Mackinnon's plaid spread over him, wished to get up and attempt to escape by jumping ashore, but Mackinnon would not allow him, as he considered the experiment very dangerous. During the pursuit, Charles, who was anxious to know the relative progress of the two boats, kept up a conversation with the trusty Highlander, who assured him from time to time that the pur-



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suers did not gain upon them. Both parties were equal in point of numbers; and as Mackinnon contemplated the possibility of the militiamen overtaking them, he directed the boatmen to keep their muskets close by them, but not to fire till he should give the word of command by firing first. "Be sure," said John, "to take an aim. Mark well, and there is no fear. We will be able to manage these rogues, if we come to engage them." Charles, begging that no lives might be sacrificed without an absolute necessity, Mackinnon said he would not fire if it could be avoided; but if compelled to do so in self-defence, their own preservation required that none of the assailants should escape to tell the news of their disaster. Observing a wood at some distance which reached down to the water, Mackinnon directed the boatmen to pull in that direction; and on reaching the shore, the prince, followed by Mackinnon and one of the boatmen, sprang out of the boat, and plunging into the wood, nimbly ascended the hill. The alarm into which they had been thrown gave place to feelings of a very different description, when, on reaching the summit of the hill, they perceived their pursuers returning from their fruitless chase.

Finding himself much fatigued, Charles slept three hours on this eminence, and, returning down the hill, crossed the loch to a small island near the seat of Macdonald of Scothouse. Understanding that old Clanranald was there on a visit, Charles sent Mackinnon to solicit his protection, but the old chief positively refused to receive him. Upon Mackinnon's return the party repassed the loch, and returned to Mallag, where they rejoined the old laird. After refreshing themselves, they set out for the seat of Macdonald of Morar, about eight miles distant. In crossing the promontory between Loch Nevis and Loch Morar they passed a shiel-

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ing, or cottage, where they observed some people coming down towards the road. Afraid that he would be known, the prince made John Mackinnon fold his plaid for him, and threw it over his shoulder with his knapsack upon it. To disguise himself still farther, he tied a handkerchief about his head. In this attire Charles passed for Mackinnon's servant. A grandson of MacDonald of Scothouse, who was at the shieling, gave the party a draught of milk. At another shieling they procured another draught; and, as the night was dark and the road bad, they took a guide along with them to conduct them across the ford to Morar's house. When they came to this ford, an amusing occurrence took place. Mackinnon, desirous to keep Charles dry in crossing, desired the guide to be so good as carry "this poor sick fellow" (pointing to the prince) upon his back across the ford, as it was then pretty deep; but the guide indignantly answered: "The deil be on the back he comes, or any fellow of a servant like him; but I'll take *you* on my back, sir, if you please, and carry you safely through the ford." "No, by no means," said Mackinnon, "if the lad must wade, I'll wade along with him, and help him, lest any harm should happen to him;" on saying which, he laid hold of Charles's arm, and they crossed the ford together. Both Charles and Mackinnon were pleased to find that the guide had no suspicion that the pretended sick person was the prince.

A little before daybreak the party arrived at the end of their journey, but were disappointed to find, that the mansion where they expected to meet with an hospitable reception had been burnt to the ground, and that its proprietor had been obliged to take up his abode in a bothy or hut in the neighbourhood. Morar, who had acted as lieutenant-colonel of Clanranald's regiment, gave the prince a hearty welcome. Having

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entertained Charles and his party, he conducted them to a cave for security, and went off in quest of young Clanranald, whom the prince was most anxious to see. After some hours' absence Morar returned, and, reporting that he could not find Clanranald, Charles told him that as he had failed in meeting with that young chief, he would put himself under Morar's charge. According to Mackinnon's statement, Morar declined to take such a responsibility upon him, and even declared that he did not know any person to whose care he could commit Charles's person. The prince, stung by the altered demeanour of Morar, thus accosted him: "This is very hard. You were very kind yesternight, Morar! and said you could find out a hiding-place, proof against all the search of the enemy's forces; and now you say you can do nothing at all for me! You can travel to no place but what I will travel to; no eatables or drinkables can you take but what I can take a share along with you, and be well content with them, and even pay handsomely for them. When fortune smiled upon me and I had pay to give, I then found some people ready enough to serve me; but now that fortune frowns on me, and I have no pay to give, they forsake me in my necessity." The chief of Mackinnon and his clansman were highly indignant at Morar, and insisted that he must have seen young Clanranald, and that he had been advised to his present course, but Morar resolutely denied the charge. Charles in great distress exclaimed: "O God Almighty! look down upon my circumstances, and pity me; for I am in a most melancholy situation. Some of those who joined me at first, and appeared to be fast friends, now turn their backs upon me in my greatest need; and some of those again who refused to join me, and stood at a distance, are now among my best friends; for it is remarkable that

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those of Sir Alexander Macdonald's following have been most faithful to me in my distress, and contributed greatly to my preservation." Then turning round to Mackinnon, he said, "I hope, Mr. Mackinnon, you will not desert me too, and leave me in the lurch; but that you will do all for my preservation you can." The old laird, thinking that these words were meant for him, said, with tears in his eyes: "I never will leave your Royal Highness in the day of danger; but will, under God, do all I can for you, and go with you wherever you order me." — "Oh no!" rejoined Charles, "that is too much for one of your advanced years, Sir; I heartily thank you for your readiness to take care of me, as I am well satisfied of your zeal for me and my cause; but one of your age cannot well hold out with the fatigues and dangers I must undergo. It was to your friend John here, a stout young man, I was addressing myself." — "Well then," said John, "with the help of God, I will go through the wide world with your Royal Highness, if you desire me."

Disappointed in his inquiries after Clanranald, and unsuccessful, if John Mackinnon's statement be correct, in his application to Morar, Charles resolved to go to Borodale, and solicit the assistance of "honest old Æneas Macdonald." Accordingly, after taking leave of the laird of Mackinnon, Charles set off for Borodale, accompanied by John Mackinnon, under the direction of a boy, a son of Morar, as guide. The party reached Borodale, on the morning of the tenth of July, before daybreak. As at Morar, the house of the proprietor had been burnt by a body of troops, under Captain Ferguson, and Borodale was residing in a hut hard by the ruins of his mansion. Borodale was in bed when Charles arrived, and the door was shut. Mackinnon called upon Borodale to rise, who, knowing his voice,

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got up, and throwing some blankets about him, went to the door. Mackinnon asked him if he had heard anything of the prince. "No," replied the old gentleman. "What would you give," rejoined John, "for a sight of him?" "Time was," said the warm-hearted Highlander, "that I would have given a hearty bottle to see him safe; but since I see you I expect to hear some news of him." "Well, then," replied Mackinnon, "I have brought him here, and will commit him to your charge. I have done my duty, do you yours." "I am glad of it," said Borodale, "and shall not fail to take care of him. I shall lodge him so secure that all the forces in Britain shall not find him out." John Mackinnon then took his leave, and returned to Ellagol; but he had scarcely reached his house when he was apprehended by a party of militia, and along with his chief, who was also captured by another party at Morar, the morning after Charles's departure, conveyed to London, and kept in confinement till July, 1747.

Borodale conducted his guest to a hut in a neighbouring wood, where he entertained him in the best manner he could for three days, and in the meantime, Charles despatched John Macdonald, junior, one of Borodale's sons, with a letter to Alexander Macdonald of Glenaladale, who had been in his service as major of the Clanranald regiment. Receiving, shortly after this express had been sent, information of the laird of Mackinnon's capture, and judging that his residence in the wood was not safe, Borodale, accompanied by his son Ronald, who had been a lieutenant in Clanranald's own company, conducted Charles to an almost inaccessible cave four miles eastward, in which he directed him to remain till Glenaladale should arrive.

Charles's letter was punctually delivered to Glenaladale, who, two days after it was written, viz., on the

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fifteenth of July, met Borodale at an appointed place, and paid a visit to Charles. Next day Borodale received a letter from his son-in-law, Angus Mac Eachan, residing in the glen of Morar, who had served as surgeon to Glengary's regiment, informing him that a rumour was beginning to prevail in the country, that the prince was in concealment about Borodale; and representing the danger Charles would be in, by remaining on Borodale's lands any longer, he offered him a more secure asylum, in a place he had prepared for him. Before accepting this offer, Ronald Macdonald was sent to reconnoitre the place. Next day, John Macdonald was despatched to view the coast, and ascertain the motions of the military; and having brought intelligence that he saw a boat approaching that part of the coast where the grotto was situated, Charles, without waiting for the return of Ronald Macdonald, immediately left the cave, and set off for the glen of Morar, to the place prepared for him. He was accompanied by Glenaladale, Borodale, and John Macdonald, junior, son of the latter. They were met, at a place called Corrybeine Cabir, by Borodale's son-in-law, who informed Charles that Clanranald was waiting a few miles off, to conduct him to a safe place of concealment he had prepared for him. Charles would have proceeded to meet Clanranald, but as the evening was far advanced, and as he was much nearer his intended quarters in Glen Morar, than the place where Clanranald was, he proceeded onward, intending to communicate with him next day.

Borodale, who had proceeded to Glen Morar in advance of the party to procure some necessaries, received information, on his arrival there, that some men-of-war with troops on board, under General Campbell, had anchored in Loch Nevis. He thereupon despatched two men to Loch Nevis, by way of Loch Morar, to observe

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General Campbell's motions, and having received further intelligence, that Captain Scott had arrived with a party in the lower part of Arisaig, he returned to Charles, and communicated to him the information he had received. Being assured that Charles was upon one of the promontories betwixt Loch Hourn and Loch Shiel, the English commanders had formed a chain of posts across the heads of these and the intermediate arms of the sea, so as to intercept him should he attempt to escape by land into the interior; and to catch him should he venture to return to the islands, cruisers and boats were stationed at the mouths of the lochs. The sentinels along this line, which extended to the length of thirty miles, were placed so near one another in the daytime, that no person could pass without being seen by them, and at night fires were lighted at every post, and the opposite sentinels passed, and repassed one another, from fire to fire. To cross such a chain during the day was quite impossible, nor did a passage by night appear practicable; but with all their vigilance, the English officers committed a capital mistake, which set at nought all their precautions. The error consisted in making the opposite sentinels cross each other, by which plan, they walked for a time with their backs turned towards each other, during which a person might pass over the intermediate space, without being seen by the sentinels, when moving in contrary directions.

Finding thus, that the whole of Clanranald's country was wholly surrounded by the government troops, and that he would not be able to join that chief, Charles resolved to leave it immediately. To lessen the risk of discovery, by reducing the number of his companions, he took leave of Borodale and his son-in-law, and attended by Glenaladale, his brother, Lieutenant John Macdonald, who had been an officer in the French serv-



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ice, and John Macdonald, junior, Borodale's son, set out in the morning of the eighteenth of July, and by mid-day reached the summit of a hill, called Scoorvuy, at the eastern extremity of Arisaig. Here they rested and took some refreshment, and Glenaladale's brother was then despatched to Glenfinnin, to obtain intelligence, and to direct two men whom Glenaladale had stationed there, to join the prince about ten o'clock at night, on the top of a hill called Swernink Corrichan, above Loch Arkaig in Lochiel's country. After Lieutenant John Macdonald's departure, Charles set out with his two remaining companions, and at two o'clock came to the top of a neighbouring hill, called Fruigh-vein. Observing some cattle in motion, Glenaladale went forward to ascertain the cause, and found that these cattle belonged to some of his own tenants, who were driving them away out of the reach of a body of six or seven hundred troops, who had come to the head of Loch Arkaig, to hem in the prince. As Charles and his friends meant to pass in that direction, they were greatly disconcerted at this intelligence, and they resolved to alter their course. Glenaladale sent one of his tenants to Glenfinnin, which was only about a mile off, to recall his brother and the two men; and at the same time he sent another messenger for Donald Cameron of Glenpean, who had removed with his effects to a neighbouring hill, on the approach of the troops, that he might ascertain from him the situation of the troops about Fort Augustus, and to obtain his assistance in conducting the prince through the chain of posts. As they waited the return of the messengers, one of the tenants' wives, regretting the condition of Glenaladale, her landlord, and desirous of giving him some refreshment, milked some of her cows, and brought the milk to him. Observing the woman approaching, Charles



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covered his head with a handkerchief, and passed for one of Glenaladale's servants, who had got a headache. Though this refreshment, from the excessive heat of the day, was very seasonable, yet they would have gladly dispensed with the obtrusive kindness of the warm-hearted female. That Charles might participate in the present, without observation from the donor, Glenaladale prevailed upon her, though with some difficulty, to retire, and leave her dish behind.

After a short absence the messenger who had been despatched to Glenfinnin returned without finding Glenaladale's brother, or the two men who had, before his arrival there, departed for the appointed place of rendezvous. He brought the alarming intelligence, that a hundred of the Argyleshire militia had arrived at the foot of the hill on which the prince now stood. Without waiting for the return of the other messenger, the party set out about sunset on their hazardous attempt. They travelled at a pretty quick pace till about eleven o'clock at night, when, passing through a hollow way between two hills, they observed a man coming down one of them towards them. Charles and young Macdonald kept behind, and Glenaladale went forward to ascertain whether this person was friend or foe. Strange to tell, the suspected individual was Donald Cameron of Glenpean, the very person whom, of all others, Glenaladale wished to see. He was immediately conducted to Charles, to whom he communicated such information as he had obtained about the government troops.

Undertaking to guide the prince and his companions past the guards, Cameron conducted them over roads almost impassable in daylight; and after travelling all night, they arrived about four o'clock in the morning of the nineteenth of July, on the top of a hill in the braes

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of Loch Arkaig, called Mamnyn-Caſſum, from which they could perceive the enemy's camp about a mile distant. Being informed by their guide, that the hill on which they now stood, had been searched the previous day, they supposed there would not be a second search for some time, and they therefore resolved to remain on the hill all the day, and selecting a proper place of safety, lay down to repose themselves. After sleeping two hours, the whole party, with the exception of Charles, rose to keep watch. About ten o'clock they observed a man at a little distance coming up the hill. As there was a probability that Cameron, being generally acquainted with the inhabitants of that part of the country, might know this person, he was sent forward to speak with him, and was agreeably surprised to find that he was no other than Glenaladale's brother, who not meeting the prince at the place appointed, had become alarmed for his safety, and was in search of him.

The whole party remained on the top of the hill all the day, and about nine o'clock at night set out in a southern direction; and about one o'clock in the morning came to a place called Corrinangaul, on the confines of Knoydart and Loch Arkaig, where Cameron expected to have met some of the Loch Arkaig people, who had fled with their cattle on the approach of the soldiery. Cameron had calculated on getting a supply of provisions from these people, as the prince and his party had only a small quantity of butter and oatmeal, which they could not prepare for want of fire. Perceiving some huts down the face of the hill, Glenaladale's brother and the guide, at the risk of being observed by some of the sentinels who were going their rounds, ventured down to them, in expectation of meeting some of the country people, and obtaining a supply of provisions; but they found these shielings uninhabited.

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Judging themselves no longer safe on the top of the hill, the whole party shifted their quarters, and went to a fastness in the brow of a hill at the head of Lochnaigh, about a mile distant from the troops. They lay down in this retreat to take some rest. With the exception of Charles, they all awoke after a short repose; and it was resolved that, dangerous as the experiment might be, Glenaladale's brother and the guide should again go in quest of provisions, of which they now stood in very great need. Leaving, therefore, Glenaladale and Borodale's son to stand sentry over Charles, they set off, while it was yet dark, on their errand. The place which the weary wanderers had chosen for their nocturnal abode commanded a view of the lake, and when the sun rose, Charles and his friends observed the enemy's camp at the head of Lochnaigh. They would have gladly removed to a greater distance, but they resolved to wait for the return of the foraging party, who accordingly arrived about three o'clock in the afternoon, with two small cheeses, which were all the provisions they could procure. They also brought the alarming intelligence, that about a hundred soldiers were marching up the opposite side of the hill to search for some of the country people, who were supposed to have fled thither for shelter.

As it was far from improbable that this party would in the course of their examination find out the place where Charles and his friends lay concealed, the most direful apprehensions must have seized the minds of the unhappy fugitives. Seeing no possibility of leaving their retreat without observation, whilst the soldiers were on the hill, they resolved to remain and abide the result. The soldiers made a general and narrow search all around, but fortunately did not come to the place where the wanderers lay. After the search was over

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the soldiers returned to their camp; and about eight o'clock in the evening Charles and his friends left their place of concealment, and, travelling at a very quick pace till it became dark, ascended a steep hill called Drimachosi, on arriving at the top of which, they observed the fires of a camp directly in their front, which in passing onward they imagined they could scarcely avoid. Determined, however, to make the attempt, whatever might be the consequences, they proceeded forward, and came so near the posts as to hear the soldiers talking together.

In passing over the top of this mountain Charles made a very narrow escape. Down a steep and pathless descent a small stream glided, the waters of which spreading among a mixture of grass and heath, with which the descent was covered, rendered it slippery, and of course very dangerous. When about to descend, Charles's foot slipped, and he would have undoubtedly fallen headlong down the precipice, and been dashed to pieces, had not Cameron, who preceded him, seized him by one of his arms, and held him fast with one hand, whilst, with the other, he laid hold of the heath to prevent both from tumbling down together. In this situation, Cameron held Charles till Glenaladale came down, who, laying hold of the prince's other arm, rescued him from his danger. Arriving at the bottom, they crept up the next hill, and, on reaching its summit, perceived the fires of another camp at the foot of the hill, in the direct way they were to have gone down.

To pass this post seemed to be an undertaking utterly hopeless, and certain destruction appeared inevitable in the attempt; yet extremely dangerous as it was, the party resolved to make it. Unwilling, however, to expose the prince to such great risk, before putting the practicability of the measure to the test, Cameron, en-

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tirely regardless of his own safety, proposed to make the experiment himself before Charles ventured to pass. "If I succeed," said the generous Highlander, "and return safe, then your Royal Highness may venture, and I shall conduct you." At this time Cameron's nose began to itch, — a circumstance which was regarded by Donald as a dangerous omen. Whilst rubbing his nose, he could not avoid stating his apprehensions to Charles; but these superstitious fears did not divert him from his purpose. Cameron accordingly went forward, and, in a short time, returned to his companions with the agreeable information that he had entirely succeeded. No doubt now existing of the practicability and even the safety of the attempt, the whole party set off about two o'clock in the morning. Turning a little westward, Cameron conducted them to the channel of a small brook, through which they crept on their hands and feet to escape observation; and watching their opportunity when the backs of the sentinels were turned towards one another, quietly passed between them. After they were out of danger from the guards, Charles came up to Glenpean, and jocularly said to him: "Well, Donald, how does your nose do now?" "It is better now," answered Cameron, "but it still yucks (itches) a little." "Aye, Donald," rejoined the prince, as if taking the hint, "have we still more guards to go through?"

Having thus fortunately cleared the line of posts, the party proceeded in their course, and, at about the distance of two miles, came to a place called Corris-corridill, on the Glenelg side of the head of Loch Hourn, where they stopped, and, having chosen a secure place, sat down and took some refreshment. They had no bread; but Charles supplied the deficiency by covering a slice of the dry cheese with oatmeal. He partook of

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this coarse fare cheerfully, and washed it down with some water brought from a neighbouring spring. They remained in this retreat till eight o'clock in the evening.

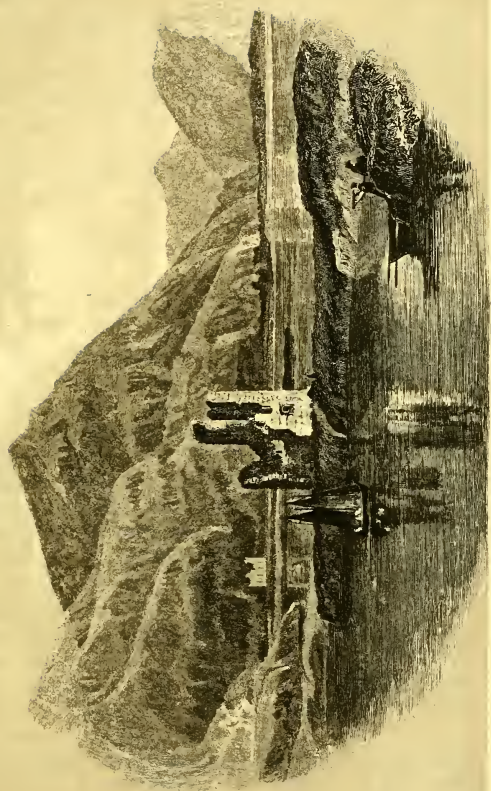
It being now evident that Charles could not remain with any chance of safety in the west Highlands, Glenaladale proposed, that instead of going eastward, as Charles intended, he should proceed north into Ross-shire, and seek an asylum among that part of the Mackenzies who had not joined in the insurrection, and whose territory had not, on that account, been visited by the military. Charles resolved to adopt the advice of his kind friend; and as Cameron was unacquainted with the route, he and Glenaladale left the covert to look out for a guide. Before they had gone far, however, they were astonished to find that they had passed all the day within cannon-shot of two little camps, and they perceived, at same time, a company of soldiers driving some sheep into a hut, for the purpose, as they supposed, of being slaughtered. Returning to their place of concealment, they apprised Charles of their discovery; and as no time was to be lost in providing for their safety, the whole party immediately set off, and about three o'clock next morning, July the twenty-seventh, reached Glenshiel, in the Earl of Seaforth's country. As their small stock of provisions was exhausted, Glenaladale and Borodale's son went forward in quest of a supply, and to find out a guide to conduct them to Pollew, where it was reported some French vessels had been. Whilst Glenaladale was conversing with some country people about a guide, a Glengary man, who had been chased that morning by a party of soldiers from Glengary, after they had killed his father, came running up. This man, who had served in the prince's army, was recognized at once by Glenaladale, and as he knew him to be trustworthy, he resolved to keep him in reserve as a guide, in case



Ardvack Castle  
Photographed from the  
aiming of tower









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they should be obliged to change their plan, and to remain about Glengary. Having procured some provisions, Glenaladale and his companion returned to Charles, and after the whole party had partaken of the food, they retired to the face of an adjacent hill, and lay down to rest in a cave. They slept till between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, when Cameron, who had acted so faithfully, took his leave, as he was unacquainted with that part of the country. After Cameron's departure, Glenaladale, observing the Glengary man returning to his own country, stepped out of the cave and prevailed upon him to remain in a by-place for a short time, as he said he had something to communicate to him. Glenaladale, on his return, stated his plan to Charles, which was to keep the Glengary man without explaining to him anything, till such time as he could ascertain whether he could depend upon getting a guide to Pollew, failing whom, he would retain the Glengary man. Charles approved of what Glenaladale had done. About seven o'clock, Glenaladale repaired to a place where he had appointed a man, who had promised to procure a guide, to meet him, and having found this person, was informed by him that he could not get one, and that the only French vessel that had touched at Pollew had gone away. Glenaladale, therefore, dismissed this person, and returning to Charles, informed him of what had passed. They then gave up the idea of proceeding farther into Ross-shire, and the Glengary man, having been introduced to the prince, cheerfully undertook to conduct him to Strathglass, or Glenmoriston, to either of which districts he intended, according to circumstances, to shape his course.

Accordingly, the whole party, accompanied by their new guide, set out through Glenshiel at a late hour; but they had not proceeded more than half a mile,

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when Glenaladale stopped short, and clapping his hand upon his side, declared that his purse, which contained a small purse of forty guineas, which the prince had given him for defraying expenses, was gone. Thinking that he had left it at their last resting-place, Glenaladale proposed to go back in quest of it, and desired the prince to remain behind an adjacent hill till he returned; but Charles was averse to the proposal, though the purse contained his whole stock of money. Glenaladale, however, went back along with Borodale's son, and, on arriving at their last resting-place, found the purse, but its contents were gone. Recollecting that a little boy had been at the place with a present of milk from a person whom Glenaladale had visited, he supposed that the boy might have taken away the small purse, and he and his companion proceeded to the house of Gilchrist M'Rath, the person alluded to, and found the boy, who, as he had conjectured, had stolen the purse of gold. By means of Gilchrist, the money was restored to Glenaladale, with the exception of a trifle.

The temporary loss of the purse was a very fortunate occurrence for Charles and his friends, as, during Glenaladale's absence, an officer and two privates passed close by the place where Charles stood, having come by the very road he and his party had intended to proceed. As they went in the direction taken by Glenaladale and his companion, Charles grew very uneasy about his friends, lest they should, on their return, meet with this party; but returning by a different way they rejoined the prince without interruption. Charles was overjoyed at the return of his friend; and with reference to his late providential escape observed: "Glenaladale, my hour, I see, is not come; for I believe I should not be taken though I had a mind to it." The party now continued their journey. In passing over the

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field of Glenshiel, the Glengary man entertained Charles with an account of the action which happened there in 1719. Charles, it is said, could not help admiring the sagacity of his guide, who, though he had not been in the battle, gave as circumstantial and accurate an account of it as if he had been present.

Travelling all night, Charles and his friends arrived on the side of a hill above Strathchluaine, where, fixing upon a secure place of retreat, they reposed till near three o'clock in the afternoon of the following day, viz., twenty-eighth of July. They then continued their journey along the hill-side; but they had not travelled above a mile, when they heard the firing of small arms on the hill above them, which they judged to proceed from some of the troops who were engaged in their usual occupation of shooting the people, who had fled to the mountains with their cattle and effects. To avoid these bloodhounds the party took a northern route, and ascended a high hill, between the Braes of Glenmoriston and Strathglass. They reached the summit of this mountain at a late hour, and sought repose for the night in an open cave, in which they could neither lie nor sleep. They had no fuel, and as they were wet to the skin with a heavy rain which fell during the whole of the day, they passed a most uncomfortable night. Charles felt himself very cold, and he endeavoured to warm himself by smoking a pipe.

Resolving again to go to Pollew, Glenaladale's brother and the Glengary man were despatched, about three o'clock in the morning of the twenty-ninth, in quest of some trusty persons to conduct the prince thither, and were appointed to meet Charles and the rest of the party on the top of a neighbouring hill. Charles and his friends set off about five o'clock, and, after a walk of two hours, reached the top of the appointed hill, where

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they met the guide, who stated that he was directed by some proper persons he had found out, to desire Glenaladale to repair to a hill in the Braes of Glenmoriston called Corambian, where they promised to come at an appointed hour with some victuals. The persons alluded to were a party of seven men, who, having been engaged in the insurrection, had formed themselves into a sort of predatory fraternity; intending, perhaps, to resume their former habits of industry when the persecutions of the government ceased. These had taken up their abode in a romantic cave on the side of Corambian, and seldom removed to any considerable distance from their rocky den, unless compelled by the necessity of providing for their immediate wants.

As directed, Charles and his friends proceeded to Corambian, and when they came near the cave, Glenaladale and the guide went forward, leaving Charles and the other two Macdonalds at a little distance. All the inmates of the den were present except one, and having killed a sheep that day, had just sat down to dinner. Glenaladale said he was glad to see them so well provided, and they invited him to sit down and share with them. He then said he had a friend with him, outside, for whom he must beg the same favour. Being asked by them who the friend was, he answered that it was young Clanranald, his chief. Nobody could be more welcome, they said, than the young chief; and they added, that they were willing to purchase food for him at the point of their swords. Glenaladale then left the cave and brought in Charles, who, being immediately recognized by its residents, had every respect shown him by these men, who fell on their knees before him. It is almost unnecessary to add, that Charles, who had scarcely tasted food for forty-eight hours, made ample amends for his long fast. After dinner, Charles's en-

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tertainers made up a bed for him of ferns and tops of heath, on which he was soon lulled asleep by the gentle murmurs of a purling stream that ran through the grotto close to his bedside.

The dress which Charles wore at this time is thus described by Mr. Home, who obtained his information from Hugh Chisholm, one of the seven persons who were in the cave at the time Charles resided in it. Upon his head he had a wretched yellow wig and a bonnet, and about his neck a clouted handkerchief. He wore a coat of coarse, dark-coloured cloth, a Stirling tartan vest, much worn, a pretty good belted plaid, tartan hose, and Highland brogues tied with thongs, so much worn that they would scarcely stick upon his feet. His shirt, the only one he had, was of the colour of saffron. The inhabitants of the cave had no change of dress to offer their guest; but an incident occurred which enabled them to supply his wants. Hearing that a detachment of government troops, under Lord George Sackville, was marching from Fort Augustus to Strathglass, and knowing that they must pass at no great distance from their abode, the robbers resolved to make an attempt upon their baggage. For this purpose they placed themselves between two hills, near the road to Strathglass, where, free from observation, they awaited the detachment. It soon appeared, and after it had passed, the Highlanders fired at some officers' servants, who were a considerable distance behind, and, rushing down upon them, seized and carried off some portmanteaus, in which they found everything that Charles stood in need of.

The search for Charles, which had hitherto been pursued with the most persevering assiduity, now began to slacken, in consequence of an occurrence, which, it was supposed, rendered further search unnecessary. Among

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other persons who had joined Charles at Edinburgh, there was a young man of respectable family, named Roderick Mackenzie. He had served as one of the prince's life-guards. Being about the same age as Charles, tall and somewhat slender, like the prince, and with features resembling, in some degree, those of Charles, he might, with ordinary observers, who had not been accustomed to see them together, have passed off for the prince. As he could not venture with safety to Edinburgh, where he had two maiden sisters living, he fled to the Highlands after the battle of Culloden, and, while skulking among the hills of Glenmoriston, was surprised by a party of soldiers, about the middle of July. Mackenzie endeavoured to escape; but being overtaken, he turned round upon his pursuers, and, drawing his sword, bravely defended himself. He was shot by one of the soldiers, and as he fell, he exclaimed: "You have killed your prince! you have killed your prince!" and immediately expired. Overjoyed at their supposed good fortune, the soldiers cut off the young man's head, and hurried to Fort Augustus with their prize. The Duke of Cumberland, convinced that he had got the head of his relative, had it, it is said, packed up, and ordering a post-chaise, went off to London, carrying the head along with him. Shortly after his arrival, however, the deception, which had been of essential service to Charles, was discovered.<sup>2</sup>

Being pretty secure in Coiraghoth, as the cave was called, Charles remained three days in this retreat, during which he recruited so well that he considered himself able to encounter any hardships. The whole party then shifted their quarters to another hill, about two miles off, and took up their abode in another cave, on the second of August. After staying four days in their new dwelling they were again obliged to shift, in



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consequence of information they received, that one Campbell, a steward of Lord Seaforth and captain of militia, had pitched his camp at a little distance, to graze a large herd of cattle. Leaving one of their party behind to watch Campbell's motions, they set off in a northerly direction, and travelled to the heights of Strathglass. Charles was conducted to a sheep-cot, in which a bed was made up for him, consisting of turf, with the grass-side uppermost, and a pillow of the same. He remained in this hovel three days, during which an express was sent to Pollew, to ascertain whether a report, which had reached him of some French vessels having been seen off the coast, was correct. On the supposition that the report would turn out to be well founded, the party followed the express, and crossing along the moor, put up at another shieling for the night, and about twelve o'clock, next day, August the tenth, arrived at a place called Glencanna, and, passing the day in a neighbouring wood, repaired at night to a village hard by. About two o'clock next morning they scrambled up a hill on the north side of Glencanna, and sending off two of their number to forage for provisions, they waited two days in a neighbouring shieling for the return of their messenger from Pollew. The express accordingly arrived, and brought notice that a French ship had been upon the coast, which had landed two gentlemen, who had gone to Lochiel's country in quest of the prince. In expectation of meeting these gentlemen, Charles resolved to retrace his steps.

Upon the thirteenth of August they crossed the water of Casina, and passing near the house of young Chisholm, arrived at a place called Fassanacoil in Strathglass, about two o'clock in the morning. They concealed themselves in a thick wood, and some of the party were despatched as scouts to the Braes of Glen-

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gary and Lochaber, to ascertain whether the search for the prince was over, and if the troops had returned to their camp at Fort Augustus. Having ascertained on the return of their spies that the government troops had returned to their headquarters, the whole party left the wood, where they had remained three days, and, on the morning of the seventeenth of August, set out through an unfrequented road, and again reached the Braes of Glenmoriston. Passing the day on the top of a hill, they continued their journey at night; but they had gone scarcely a mile, when they received information that a strong party of military were among the heights of Glengary in quest of the prince. They, therefore, stopped short in their journey till they should ascertain the motions of the enemy, and passed the remainder of the night in a shieling.

Charles being now extremely desirous of opening a communication with his friends in Lochaber, which was by this time almost free from troops, despatched two messengers on the morning of the eighteenth of August to Loch Arkaig in quest of Cameron of Clunes, to inform him that Glenaladale wished to meet him at a convenient place. Another of the party was, at the same time, sent to the Braes of Glengary to ascertain if the troops were still in that quarter. Having ascertained, by the return of this messenger, who came back next day, that the roads were clear, Charles and his party, consisting altogether of ten persons, set out in the afternoon of the nineteenth, and passing under the favour of a fog through Glenmoriston and Glenlyne, arrived late at night in the Braes of Glengary. The River Gary was swelled to a great height by the heavy rains which had fallen for some days; but some of the party having ascertained that it was fordable, Charles and his friends waded across with the water up to their

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middle. After passing the river, they proceeded onward about a mile in a very dark night, and finding no covert, they remained on the side of the hill during the night, without shelter, amid a torrent of rain. Next morning they continued their course over hills and moors till they reached a height near a place called Achnasalt, or Achnasual, where the messengers sent to Loch Arkaig had been appointed to meet them. The rain having poured down without intermission all night and during the day, the situation of these forlorn wanderers had become very uncomfortable; and, to add to their distress, their whole stock of provisions was exhausted. As none of the messengers had arrived, they were exceedingly perplexed what to do; but they were soon relieved from their anxiety by the appearance of Peter Grant, one of the most active of the seven men, who brought notice from Cameron of Clunes that he could not meet Glenaladale that night, but that he would visit him at the appointed place of rendezvous next morning, and in the meantime directed him to pass the night in a wood about two miles distant. Before setting out for their new quarters, of which they received a favourable report from two of the party, who were sent to examine the place, Glenaladale, with the consent of the prince, sent a messenger to Lochgarry, who lay concealed a few miles off, acquainting him of their arrival at Achnasual, and requesting him to meet them in the wood. After entering the wood, fortune threw a buck in their way, which one of the party immediately shot. Having kindled a fire, they roasted the flesh, and made a hearty meal, but without bread or salt. Lochgarry joined them the same night.

At ten o'clock next morning, August the fifteenth, Cameron of Clunes came to the wood, and conducted Charles to another forest at the foot of Loch Arkaig,

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in which he lay all night. With the exception of Hugh Chisholm and Peter Grant, all the Glenmoriston men took their leave. Charles expressed a wish to go to Rannoch or Badenoch, where Lochiel and Cluny were; but upon Clunes informing him that he could not pass without great danger, as all the ferries were strictly guarded, he gave up his design, and, early next morning, sent a messenger to Lochiel, desiring his attendance. Concluding that Charles was to the north of the lakes, these chiefs had, about this period, sent Doctor Cameron and the Rev. John Cameron by different routes, to obtain information respecting the prince. On arriving within a few miles of the place where Lochiel was, Charles's messenger met the doctor and the two French officers who had lately landed. As the messenger was desired to communicate no information about Charles to any person but Lochiel himself, he declined to answer any questions respecting the prince; but having stated that he had business of the utmost importance with Lochiel, the doctor conducted him to his brother. Lochiel being unable, from the state of his wounds, to travel to a distance, then sent his brother to wait upon the prince, and to make his apology.

Doctor Cameron, accompanied by two servants, arrived at the foot of Loch Arkaig on the nineteenth of August, and when near the place of Charles's concealment, he met Cameron of Clunes. At this time, Charles and one of Clunes's sons were sleeping on the mountain, and Peter Grant was keeping watch; but, nodding upon his post, Grant did not observe the approach of the party till they were pretty near. He instantly awaked Charles and his companion. Cameron and Grant proposed that they should flee to the top of the mountain; but Charles thought differently. He said he considered there was more danger in attempting to escape than in

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remaining where they were; and he proposed that they should take up a position behind some stones, take aim, and fire upon the party when they came nearer. He said, that as Grant and he were good marksmen, they would certainly do some execution, and that he had in reserve a brace of pocket pistols, which, for the first time, he produced. Fortunately, however, before a single shot was fired, the person of Clunes was recognized among the party. The joy of Charles and of young Cameron, at the narrow escape which the friends of the one and the father of the other had made, may be easily conceived. When informed by Doctor Cameron that Lochiel was well, and almost recovered of his wounds, the prince expressed the unbounded satisfaction he felt by fervently returning thanks to God three times. The appearance of Charles at this time was singular, and even terrific. He was barefooted, and his beard had grown to a great length. He wore a dirty shirt, an old black tartan coat, a plaid and a philibeg, carried a musket in his hand, and wore a pistol and dirk by his side. Had he not had one of the best and soundest constitutions ever enjoyed by a prince, he must, ere this, have fallen a victim to the numerous privations he had suffered; but his health remained unimpaired, and his flow of spirits continued. His companions had killed a cow on the present occasion, and when Doctor Cameron arrived, a part of it was preparing for dinner. Charles partook heartily of the beef, which was seasoned by a supply of bread from Fort Augustus, a commodity to which he had been for some time unaccustomed.

Next day the party went to a wood called Torvuilt, opposite to Achnacary, where they held a council. Charles now proposed to go south, and join Lochiel; but one of the party mentioning that he had seen a paragraph in some newspapers, which had been brought

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from Fort Augustus, which stated that he and Lochiel had passed Corryarrick with thirty men, he judged it advisable to defer his journey for a few days, as a search might be made for him about that mountain. In the meantime, it was agreed that Doctor Cameron should visit Lochaber to procure intelligence, and that Lochgary should go to the east end of Loch Lochy, and remain upon the isthmus between the lakes to watch the motions of the troops. They accordingly left Charles the same day, and Cameron of Clunes, after conducting the prince and his party to another hut in the neighbourhood, also took leave.

Charles remained eight days in the neighbourhood of Achnacary. Having expressed a strong desire to see the French officers who had landed at Pollew, they were brought to him. These gentlemen had come from Dunkirk in a small vessel with sixty others who had formed themselves into a company of volunteers under these two officers. Two of the volunteers landed along with the officers, and were taken prisoners. One of them, named Fitzgerald, a Spanish officer, was hanged at Fort William, on the ground of having been a spy in Flanders, and the other, a M. de Berard, a French officer, was afterward exchanged upon the cartel. The officers fell in with Mr. Alexander Macleod, one of Charles's aides de camp, to whom they delivered some despatches they had brought over to the French ambassador, and they continued to wander in Seaforth's country till Lochgary, hearing that they had letters to the prince, sent a Captain Macraw and his own servant to find them out, and bring them to Lochiel, as the prince could not be found. When brought to Lochiel, he suspected them to be government spies. On Charles expressing his wish to see these officers, the Rev. John Cameron, who had lately joined, told him what his brother Lochiel thought

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of them, and advised him to act with great caution. The prince confessed that it appeared a very suspicious circumstance, that two men, without knowing a word of Gaelic, and being perfect strangers in the country, should have escaped so long, if they were not really spies; but as they had told Lochiel that they had never seen the prince, he thought that he might see them safely by a stratagem, without being known to them. He, therefore, wrote them a letter to this effect: that in order to avoid falling into his enemies' hands, he had been under the necessity of retiring to a distant part of the country, where he had no person with him except one Captain Drummond and a servant, and as he could not remove from the place of his concealment without danger, he had sent Captain Drummond with the letter; and as he could repose entire confidence in him, he desired them to deliver any message they had to Drummond. This letter the prince proposed to deliver himself as Captain Drummond, and the officers being sent for, were introduced to him under his assumed name. He delivered them the letter, which they perused, and he then obtained from them all the information they had to communicate, which, as his affairs then stood, was of little importance. They remained with him two days, and put many questions about the prince's health, his manner of living, etc. Thinking the packet they had delivered to Mr. Macleod might be of use, Charles sent for it; but as the letters were in cipher, he could make nothing of them, not having the key.

About this time Charles made a very narrow escape under the following circumstances. Information having been sent to the camp at Fort Augustus, that Charles, or some of his principal adherents, were in the neighbourhood of Loch Arkaig, a party was despatched in quest of them. One of Clunes's sons and Cameron, the min-



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ister, had gone to the strath of Clunes to obtain intelligence, and had entered a hut which Clunes had built for his family after his house had been burnt. They had not, however, been half an hour within when a little girl came running into the house, in great haste, and said that she saw some soldiers approaching. At first they thought that the child was mistaken, as Lochgary had promised to place a guard between Fort Augustus and Clunes, to give intelligence of the approach of troops; but going out of the house, they found that the girl was correct in her information. It was then about eight o'clock in the morning, and the prince, with one of Clunes's sons and Peter Grant, was sleeping in a hut on the face of the hill on the other side of the water of Kaig, about a mile from Clunes's hut. Whilst old Cameron, therefore, remained to watch the motions of this party, one of his sons and the minister went off to arouse Charles. Crossing the water under cover of the wood, they came within pistol-shot of the soldiers, who proceeded down into the strath. When awaked and informed of his danger, Charles, with great composure, called for his gun, and, looking down the vale, saw a number of soldiers demolishing Clunes's hut and searching the adjacent woods. Charles and his attendants immediately resolved to remove to a distance, and to conceal their flight, ascended the hill along the channel of a torrent which the winter rains had worn in the face of the mountain. Clearing this hill without being seen, they proceeded to another mountain, called Mullentagart, of a prodigious height, and very steep and craggy. They remained all day on this hill without a morsel of food. One of Clunes's sons came to them about twelve o'clock at night with some whisky, bread, and cheese, and told them that his father would meet them at a certain place in the hills, at a considerable distance, with



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provisions, and the young man returned to let his father know that he might expect them. Charles and his attendants set out for the appointed place at night, and travelled through most dreadful ways, amongst rocks and stumps of trees, which tore their clothes and limbs. Such were the difficulties they encountered, that the guides proposed to halt and rest till the morning, but Charles, though exceedingly exhausted, insisted on going, that they might not break their appointment with Clunes. Worn out at last with fatigue and want of food, the prince was not able to proceed farther without assistance. Though almost in the same situation themselves, the Highlanders offered him their aid, and two of them laying hold each of an arm, supported him till he arrived at the end of this very laborious journey. They met Clunes and his son, who had already killed a cow and dressed a part of it for their use.

Charles remained in this remote place with his companions till the arrival of Lochgary and Doctor Cameron. They informed him that they had been with Lochiel and Cluny, and that it had been concerted among them that the prince should come to their asylum for some time; and they added, that Cluny would meet his Royal Highness at Achnacary, on a certain day, in order to conduct him to Badenoch. Being also informed by them that the passes were not so strictly guarded as formerly, Charles crossed Loch Arkaig, and took up his abode in a fir wood belonging to Lochiel, on the west side of the lake, to wait the arrival of Cluny. Impatient to see two such tried friends as Lochiel and Cluny, Charles would not wait for Cluny's coming to Achnacary, but, in expectation of meeting them on the way, set out for Badenoch on the twenty-eighth of August, with such guides as he had. Glenaladale had taken his leave of the prince two or three days before, and returned to his own

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country. Next day Charles arrived at a place called Corineuir, in Badenoch, where he passed the night. Cluny had passed on to Achnacary the same day by another way. Lochiel, who had skulked in his own country about two months, had sought an asylum among the Braes of Rannoch, where he was attended by Sir Stewart Thriepland, an Edinburgh physician, for the cure of the wounds he had received in his ankles. On the twentieth of June they fell in with Macpherson of Cluny, on a hill called Benouchk, who conducted them to a more secure retreat on Benalder, a hill of immense circumference, on his own property, on the borders of Rannoch. Lochiel, who had since that time lived on this mountain with his friend Cluny, was now residing in a small miserable hovel on the side of the hill, at a place called Mellenaur, or Millanuir, attended by Macpherson of Breakachie; Allan Cameron, his principal servant; and two servants of Cluny.

On the morning of the thirtieth of August, Charles, accompanied by Lochgary, Doctor Cameron and two servants, set out for Mellenaur. They were all armed, and on approaching the hut they were mistaken by Lochiel for a party of militia, who, he supposed, had been sent out in search of him from a camp a few miles off. From the lameness in his feet, Lochiel was not in a condition to attempt an escape, but there seemed to be little danger, as both parties were equal in point of numbers, and the party in the hut had this advantage, that they could fire their first volley without being observed, and as they had a considerable quantity of firearms, they could discharge another volley or two before the advancing party could reload their pieces. The danger to which Charles and his friends were now exposed was greater than that which Doctor Cameron and Clunes had run, as, on the present occasion, the party

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in the hut, resolving to receive their supposed enemies with a general discharge of all the firearms, had actually planted and levelled their pieces; but, happily for Charles and his friends, they were recognized just as Lochiel and his attendants were about giving their fire. Upon making this fortunate discovery Lochiel left the hut, and, though very lame, went forward to meet the prince. On coming up to Charles Lochiel was about to kneel, but Charles prevented him, and clapping him on the shoulder, said: "Oh no, my dear Lochiel, we do not know who may be looking from the top of yonder hills, and if they see any such motions they will immediately conclude that I am here." Charles always considered Lochiel as one of his best friends, and placed the greatest confidence in him; and the generous chief showed, by his unbounded attachment to the prince, that this confidence was not misplaced. The meeting, therefore, of two such friends, after so many perils and escapes, was extremely joyous.

After they had recovered from the first transports of their joy, Lochiel conducted Charles into the hut, where the latter beheld a sight to which his eyes had not been accustomed for many months. Besides abundance of mutton, the hut contained an anker of whisky, of twenty Scotch pints, some good dried beef sausages, a large well-cured bacon ham, and plenty of butter and cheese. On entering the prince took a hearty dram, and drank to the health of his friends. Some minced collops were then prepared for him with butter in a large saucepan, which Lochiel and Cluny always carried about with them, being the only fire-vessel they had. The pan was set before Charles with a silver spoon. He took this repast with great gusto, and was so delighted with this little change in his circumstances, that he could not help exclaiming, with a cheerful

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countenance: "Now, gentlemen, I live like a prince." After dinner he asked Lochiel if he had always fared so well during his retreat. "Yes, Sir," answered Lochiel; "for near three months past I have been here-about with my cousin Cluny; he has provided for me so well that I have had plenty of such as you see, and I thank Heaven your Royal Highness has got through so many dangers to take a part."

Finding, on his arrival at Achnacary, that Charles had departed with his friends for Badenoch, Cluny had retraced his steps, and he reached Mellenaur two days after Charles's arrival there. On entering the hut Cluny would have kneeled before Charles, but the prince prevented him, and, giving him a kiss, said: "I am sorry, Cluny, you and your regiment were not at Culloden: I did not hear till very lately that you were so near us that day."

The day after his return to Mellenaur, Cluny, thinking it time to remove to another retreat, conducted the prince and his attendants to a little shieling called Uisk-chibra, about two miles farther into Benalder. This hut was very bad and extremely smoky; but Charles accommodated himself, as he had always done, to circumstances. After passing two nights in this miserable abode, he was conducted to a very extraordinary and romantic habitation, called the Cage, which Cluny had fitted up for Charles's reception. From the description given by Cluny of this remarkable retreat, it will be seen how well adapted it was for the purpose of concealment.

"It was," says Cluny, "situated in the face of a very rough, high, and rocky mountain, called Letternilichk, still a part of Benalder, full of great stones and crevices, and some scattered wood interspersed. The habitation called the Cage, in the face of that mountain, was within

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a small thick bush of wood. There were first some rows of trees laid down, in order to level a floor for the habitation; and as the place was steep, this raised the lower side to an equal height with the other; and these trees, in the way of joists or planks, were levelled with earth and gravel. There were betwixt the trees, growing naturally on their own roots, some stakes fixed in the earth, which, with the trees, were interwoven with ropes, made of heath and birch twigs, up to the top of the Cage, it being of a round or rather oval shape; and the whole thatched and covered over with fog. This whole fabric hung, as it were, by a large tree, which reclined from the one end all along the roof to the other, and which gave it the name of the Cage; and by chance there happened to be two stones at a small distance from one another, in the side next the precipice, resembling the pillars of a chimney where the fire was placed. The smoke had its vent out here, all along the face of the rock, which was so much of the same colour, that one could discover no difference in the clearest day. The Cage was no larger than to contain six or seven persons; four of whom were frequently employed playing at cards, one idle looking out, one baking, and another firing bread and cooking." <sup>3</sup>

Charles's deliverance was now nearer at hand than he or his friends probably expected. Several small vessels had arrived on the west coast, from time to time, to carry him off to France; but the persons in charge of these not being able to find him had returned home. Charles knew this, and now that he was able to keep up a communication with his friends, he took care to provide against a similar recurrence. He was at a considerable distance from the coast, but matters were so concerted, that, if a French vessel appeared, he could easily get the intelligence. There were some of his parti-

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sans skulking near the west coast, who, though they did not know where he himself was, had instructions to convey the news to others who were concealed in the interior, who would again communicate it to persons in the knowledge of the prince's place of retreat. For some time Colonel Warren, of Dillon's regiment, had been exerting himself to induce the French government to fit out an expedition to rescue Charles from his toils. He at last succeeded in procuring two vessels of war, *L'Heureux* and *La Princesse de Conti*, with which he departed from St. Malo, about the end of August. In the event of his bringing the prince safe away, the Chevalier de St. George had promised to make him a knight baronet, a dignity which he afterward conferred upon him.

These vessels arrived in Lochnanuagh early in September, and Captain Sheridan, a son of Sir Thomas Sheridan, and a Mr. O'Beirne, a lieutenant in the French service, immediately landed and waited upon Glenaladale, who, they were informed, knew where Charles was. This faithful friend, happy at the prospect of escape which now offered, set off the same night for the place where he expected to find Charles, to communicate to him the agreeable intelligence; but to his great sorrow he found the prince gone, and he could fall in with no person who could give him the least information of his route. Clunes, from whom Glenaladale expected to get tidings of Charles, had, in consequence of the destruction of his hut, gone to another quarter, and was not to be found. Whilst ruminating over his disappointment a poor woman accidentally came to the place where he was, and he had the good fortune to ascertain from her the place of Clunes's retreat. Having found him out, he and Clunes instantly despatched a messenger to Charles with the joyful intelligence; and Glenaladale

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then returned to Lochnanuagh, to notify to Colonel Warren that Charles might be speedily expected in that quarter.

The messenger arrived at Benalder on the thirteenth of September, on which day Charles left his romantic abode, and, after taking leave of Cluny, set off on his journey for the coast, accompanied by Lochiel and others. He at the same time sent off confidential messengers in different directions to acquaint such of his friends as he could reach, announcing the arrival of the ships, that they might have an opportunity of joining him if inclined. As Charles and his friends travelled only by night, they did not reach Borodale, the place of embarkation, till the nineteenth. On the road Charles was joined by Lochgary, John Roy Stewart, Doctor Cameron, and other gentlemen who intended to accompany him to France. Besides these, many others had left their different hiding-places on hearing of the arrival of the French vessels, and had repaired to the coast of Moidart, also waiting for the arrival of him for whose sake they had forfeited their lives, intending to adopt the bitter alternative of bidding an eternal adieu to their native land. The number of persons assembled was about a hundred.

The career of Charles in the hereditary dominions of his ancestors was now ended. Attended by seven persons only he had with daring hardihood landed about fourteen months before on the spot where he was destined to depart as a fugitive, and with a handful of men had raised the standard of insurrection and set the whole power of the government at open defiance. The early part of his progress had been brilliant. With a few thousand undisciplined mountaineers he had overrun Scotland, defeated the army opposed to him, and, penetrating into the very heart of England, in the face



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of three hostile armies, had carried dismay to the capital, and shook the throne of George the Second to its base. The masterly retreat from Derby, the merit of which belongs to Lord George Murray exclusively, quieted for a time the apprehensions of the government; but the defeat at Falkirk again convinced it that the succession settlement was still in danger; and that, perhaps, at no distant day, the young and daring adventurer might place the son of James the Second upon the throne from which his father had been expelled. Even after his retreat to Inverness, the supporters of the house of Hanover could have no assurance that the Duke of Cumberland's army might not share the fate of its predecessors, in which event the new dynasty would probably have ceased to reign; but the triumphs of Charles were at an end; and the fatal field of Culloden, after witnessing the bravery of his troops, became the grave of his hopes. Then commenced that series of extraordinary adventures, unparalleled sufferings, and wonderful escapes, of which some account has been given, and which could scarcely have been credited had they not been authenticated beyond the possibility of dispute. During the brilliant part of his career Charles had displayed a moderation and forbearance worthy of a conqueror; and though his spirits sunk when compelled to retreat, yet in the hour of adversity, when beset with perils and exposed to privations which few men could have endured, he exhibited uncommon fortitude and strength of mind, and would even occasionally indulge his vein for pleasantry by jocular remarks whenever anything ludicrous occurred.

In his wanderings Charles laid down a rule to himself, and to which he scrupulously adhered, never to entrust any person from whom he was about to depart with the secret of his route, so that, with the exception of the



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few friends who were about him for the time being, none of those to whom he had been formerly indebted for his preservation knew the place of his retreat. This was a wise precaution, but was attended with this disadvantage, that it prevented him from acquiring early information of the arrival of the French vessels upon the coast. But no means he was able to take for his own security could have saved him had he not had a guarantee in the incorruptible fidelity of the persons into whose hands he committed himself. At the risk of their own destruction they extended to him the aid of their protection, and relieved his necessities. Many of these persons were of desperate fortunes, and there were others in the lowest ranks of life; yet among nearly two hundred persons to whom Charles must have been known during the five months he wandered as a fugitive, not one ever offered to betray him, though they knew that a price of £30,000 was set upon his head. History nowhere presents such a splendid instance of disinterested attachment to an unfortunate family.

Accompanied by Lochiel, Lochgary, John Roy Stewart, Doctor Cameron, and a considerable number of other adherents, Charles departed from Lochnanuagh on the twentieth of September, and had a favourable passage to the coast of France. He intended at first to have proceeded to Nantes, in which case he would probably have fallen in with Admiral Lestock's squadron, which having landed a body of troops to attack *L'Orient*, was cruising off the southern coast of Bretagne; but he altered his course, and, after being chased by two English ships of war, from which he escaped in a thick fog, arrived in safety off Roscoff, or Roscort, near Morlaix, in Lower Bretagne, where he landed on Monday, the twenty-ninth of September, at half-past two o'clock in the afternoon. He immediately proceeded to Morlaix,

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whence he despatched Colonel Warren the same day to Paris to announce his arrival to the French court. He also sent at the same time a letter to his brother Henry to the same effect, and enclosed a similar one to his father.

## CHAPTER V

### EXECUTION OF JACOBITES

WHILST the issue of the contest remained doubtful the government took no steps to punish the prisoners who had fallen into their hands at Carlisle; but after the decisive affair of Culloden, when there appeared no chance of the Jacobite party ever having it in their power to retaliate, the government resolved to vindicate the authority of the law by making examples of some of the prisoners.

As it was intended to try the prisoners at different places for the sake of convenience, an act was passed empowering his Majesty to try them in any county he might select. Pursuant to this act a commission of oyer and terminer, and gaol delivery for the county of Surrey passed the great seal about the latter end of Trinity term, 1746, directed to every privy councillor by name, to all the judges, and some private gentlemen, empowering them, or any three of them, to execute the commission. The precept was signed by the three chief judges, and made returnable on the twenty-third of June, making fifteen days exclusive between the teste and the return. On that day most of the judges met at Serjeant's inn, and from thence proceeded in order of seniority to the court-house at St. Margaret's hill, in the borough of Southwark.

On the two following days bills of indictment were found against thirty-six of the prisoners taken at Carlisle, and against one David Morgan, a barrister, who

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had been apprehended in Staffordshire. The prisoners were then brought to the bar, and informed of the bills found against them, and the court ordered that they should be furnished with copies of the indictments, which were delivered to them the same day. The court then adjourned to the third of July, on which day the prisoners were severally arraigned. Three only pleaded guilty. The rest applied for a postponement of their trials on the ground that material witnesses for their defence were at a considerable distance. The court in consequence ruled that in cases where witnesses were in England the trial should be put off to the fifteenth of July, and where they were in Scotland, to the twenty-fifth of the same month.

The court accordingly met on the fifteenth of July, and proceeded with the trial of Francis Townley, Esquire, before a grand jury at the court-house, Southwark. This unfortunate gentleman had been colonel of the Manchester regiment. He was of a respectable family in Lancashire. Obligated to retire to France in 1728, he had obtained a commission from the King of France, and had served at the siege of Philipsburgh under the Duke of Berwick, who lost his life before the walls of that place. He continued sixteen years in the French service; and after his return to England had received a commission to raise a regiment. A plea was set up by his counsel, that holding a commission in the French service he was entitled to the benefit of the cartel as well as any other French officer, but this was overruled, and he was found guilty. On the next, and two following days, eighteen other persons, chiefly officers in the said regiment, were brought to trial. Five were attainted by their own confession of high treason, twelve on a verdict of high treason of levying war against the king, and one was acquitted. These seventeen

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persons, along with Townley, were all condemned to death. The nine following were selected for execution on the thirtieth, an order to that effect having arrived the previous day, viz., Francis Townley, George Fletcher, Thomas Chadwick, James Dawson, Thomas Theodorus Deacon, Andrew Blood, Thomas Syddal, John Berwick, and David Morgan. With the exception of the last, all these were officers in the Manchester regiment. The rest were reprieved for three weeks.

The place destined for the execution of these unfortunate men was Kennington common, to which, at an early hour in the morning of the thirtieth of July, crowds of people were seen hastening from London to witness the revolting spectacle. At six o'clock in the morning the prisoners received notice to prepare for death, and were shortly thereafter removed to the court-yard of the gaol, where they partook of some coffee. With the exception of Syddal, who began to tremble when the halter was put about his neck, the rest displayed uncommon fortitude and presence of mind. After their irons were knocked off, their arms were pinioned, and the ropes being placed about their necks they were put into three hurdles, on which they were drawn to the place of execution, surrounded by a strong guard. Townley, Blood, and Berwick, and the executioner with a naked scimitar in his hand, were in the first sledge. Near the gallows a pile of faggots and a block were placed, and whilst the prisoners were removing from their hurdles into a cart under the gallows, the faggots were set on fire, and the guards formed a circle round the fire and place of execution. No clergyman of any description attended on the occasion, but the deficiency was in some measure supplied by Morgan, who read some prayers and pious meditations from a book of devotion. All the prisoners appeared to listen with great

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attention, and evinced their devotion by the fervour of their responses. They spent half an hour in these exercises, after which they drew some papers from their pockets which they threw among the spectators. In these papers they asserted the justice of the cause for which they were about to suffer, declared that they did not repent of their conduct in acting as they had done, and stated their conviction that their deaths would be avenged. At the same time they delivered papers of a similar description to the sheriff; and taking off their hats, some of which were gold-laced, threw them also among the crowd. These hats, it is said, contained some treasonable papers.

The prisoners being now ready, the executioner pulled caps over their eyes, and on a given signal instantly turned them off. After they had hung three minutes some of the soldiers went forward, and whilst they pulled off the shoes, white stockings, and breeches of these ill-fated sufferers, the executioner drew off the rest of their clothes. After they had been all stripped quite naked, Mr. Townley was cut down and laid on the block. Although he had been suspended six minutes there was still life in him, to extinguish which the executioner gave him several knocks on the breast. The executioner finding that these blows had not the desired effect, he immediately cut the gentleman's throat. He then cut off the *verenda*, which he threw into the fire. With a cleaver he next chopped off the head, then ripped the body open, took out the bowels and heart and threw them into the fire. He finally separated the four quarters, and put them along with the head into a coffin. The other bodies underwent the same barbarous process of beheading, embowelling, and quartering. When the executioner threw the last heart into the fire, which was that of James Dawson, he vociferated, "God save the king," an invo-

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cation which was answered with a shout by the spectators. The mutilated remains of these unfortunate men were conveyed back to prison on the hurdles. Three days after the execution, the heads of Townley and Fletcher were fixed upon Temple-bar; and those of Deacon, Chadwick, Berwick, and Syddal were preserved in spirits for the purpose of being exposed in the same way at Carlisle and Manchester. All the bodies except Townley's were interred in the burying-ground near the Foundling hospital, that of Townley at Pancrass.

Two singular and interesting circumstances occurred at this execution. The one was the attendance of a younger brother of Deacon's, and one of those who had obtained a reprieve. At his own request he was allowed to witness the execution of his brother in a coach under the charge of a guard. The other was one of a very affecting description. Hurried away by the impetuosity of youth, James Dawson, one of the sufferers, the son of a Lancashire gentleman, had abandoned his studies at St. John's college, Cambridge, and had joined the Jacobite standard. He and a young lady of a good family and handsome fortune were warmly attached to each other, and had Dawson been acquitted, or, after condemnation, found mercy, the day of his enlargement was to have been that of their marriage. When all hopes of mercy were extinguished, the young lady resolved to witness the execution of her lover, and so firm was her resolution that no persuasions of her friends could induce her to abandon her determination. On the morning of the execution she accordingly followed the sledges to the place of execution in a hackney coach, accompanied by a gentleman nearly related to her, and one female friend. She got near enough to see the fire kindled which was to consume that heart she knew was so much devoted to her, and to observe the other

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appalling preparations without committing any of those extravagances her friends had apprehended. She had even the fortitude to restrain her feelings while the executioner was pulling the cap over the eyes of her lover; but when he was thrown off she in an agony of grief drew back her head into the coach, and, crying out, "My dear, I follow thee, I follow thee; — sweet Jesus, receive both our souls together!" fell upon the neck of her female companion, and instantly expired.

The individuals next proceeded against were persons of a higher grade. The Marquis of Tullibardine escaped the fate which awaited him, having died of a lingering indisposition in the Tower on the ninth of July; but on the twenty-third of that month the grand jury of the county of Surrey found bills for high treason against the Earls of Kilmarnock, and Cromarty, and Lord Balmerino. The three indictments against these noblemen having been drawn up, a *certiorari* was issued from chancery removing the indictments in order to their trials by their peers, and before the return of the writ his Majesty appointed Lord Chancellor Hardwicke to be the lord-high-steward for the trial of these peers. The lord-high-steward then directed a precept under his seal to the commissioners named in the special commission to certify that the indictments were found. The indictments being certified, the House of Lords, on the motion of the lord-high-steward, fixed the twenty-eighth of July for the day of trial; and a precept was directed to Lord Cornwallis, constable and lieutenant of the Tower, to bring the bodies of the prisoners that day to Westminster hall at eight o'clock in the morning.

Accordingly, at the time appointed the three lords proceeded from the Tower towards Westminster hall, in three coaches. In the first coach was the Earl of Kilmarnock, attended by Lieutenant-General William-



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son, deputy-governor of the Tower, and the captain of the guard. In the second was the Earl of Cromarty, attended by Captain Marshall; and in the third Lord Balmerino, attended by Mr. Fowler, gentleman-gaoler, who had the axe lying before him on the seat of the coach. The coaches were escorted by a strong guard of soldiers. The lord-high-steward, accompanied by the judges in their robes, the master of the rolls, and a number of officials, went to the House of Peers at an early hour. After the names of the peers had been called over, and a list made of the names of those present, the whole court, preceded by the lord-high-steward, walked in procession to Westminster hall, and took their seats. There were 135 peers present. The appearance of the hall, which was elegantly fitted up, and the great pomp with which the whole proceedings were conducted, were calculated to impress every person present with feelings of awe and respect. At the request of Lord Cromarty, Mr. Adam Gordon was appointed his solicitor, and Mr. George Ross solicitor for the other lords, in terms of their own wish.

The prisoners were received at the gate of Westminster hall by General Folliott. The commission having been read, and proclamation made for the lord-lieutenant of the Tower to return the precept directed to him with the bodies of the prisoners, the gentleman-gaoler brought them to the bar, the axe being carried before them by that functionary, with its edge turned away from them. After the indictments had been read, the Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromarty pleaded "guilty," and threw themselves entirely upon the king's mercy. Before pleading to his indictment, Lord Balmerino stated that he was not at Carlisle at the time specified in the indictment, being eleven miles off when that city was taken, and he requested to know from his grace if it would

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avail him anything to prove that fact. Lord Hardwicke said that such a circumstance might, or might not, be of use to him; but he informed him that it was contrary to form to permit him to put any questions before pleading to the indictment, by saying whether he was guilty or not guilty. His grace desiring his lordship to plead, the intrepid Balmerino apparently not understanding the meaning of that legal term, exclaimed, with great animation, "Plead! Why, I am pleading as fast as I can." The lord-high-steward having explained the import of the phrase, the noble baron answered, "Not guilty."

The trial then proceeded. Four witnesses were examined. One of them proved that he saw Lord Balmerino ride into Carlisle on a bay horse the day after it was taken by the Highlanders; that he saw him afterward ride up to the market-place with his sword drawn at the head of his troop of horse, which was the second troop of Charles's body guards, and was called Elphinstone's horse. Another witness deposed that he saw his lordship ride into Manchester at the head of his troop, and that he was there when the young Chevalier was proclaimed regent. Two other witnesses proved that his lordship was called colonel of his troop; that he always acted in that station; gave orders on all occasions to his officers; and that he was in great favour with Prince Charles. The evidence on the part of the crown having been finished, the lord-high-steward asked the prisoner if he had anything to offer in his defence, or meant to call any witnesses. His lordship replied that he had nothing to say, but to make an exception to the indictment which was incorrect in charging him with being at Carlisle at the time it was taken by the Highlanders. The peers then adjourned to their chamber to consider the objection, and after a long debate,

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the House came to the resolution of taking the opinion of the judges upon the point. The peers having returned to the court, the lord-high-steward put the question to the judges, who were unanimously of opinion, that, as an overt act of treason and other acts of treason had been proved beyond contradiction, there was no occasion to prove explicitly everything that was laid in the indictment; and that, of course, the prisoner's objection was not material. Proclamation for silence having been then made, the lord-high-steward, addressing each peer by name, one by one, beginning with the youngest baron, said: "What says your lordship? Is Arthur Lord Balmerino guilty of the high treason whereof he stands impeached, or not guilty?" Whereupon, each peer so called upon, stood up in his place uncovered, and laying his right hand upon his breast, said: "Guilty, upon my honour." After Lord Balmerino had been found guilty, the other two lords were brought to the bar, and were informed by the lord-high-steward, that if either of them had anything to move in arrest of judgment, they must come prepared on the Wednesday following at eleven o'clock, and state their objections, otherwise sentence of death would be awarded against them. The three lords were then carried back to the Tower in coaches, and the axe, which was in the coach with Lord Balmerino, had its edge pointed towards him.

The court accordingly met again on Wednesday, the thirtieth of July, when the lord-high-steward addressed the prisoners; and beginning with Lord Kilmarnock, asked him if he had anything to offer why judgment of death should not be passed against him. His lordship stated, that having, from a due sense of his folly, and the heinousness of his crimes, acknowledged his guilt, he meant to offer nothing in extenuation, but

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to throw himself entirely on the compassion of the court, that it might intercede with his Majesty for his royal clemency. He observed that his father had been an early and steady friend to the Revolution, and very active in settling and securing the succession, and in promoting the union between the two kingdoms; and that he had endeavoured to instil into the prisoner, in his early years, the principles of the Revolution; that the whole tenor of his (the prisoner's) life had been in conformity with these principles till the fatal moment when he was induced to join in the insurrection; that, in proof of this, he had only to refer to the manner in which he had educated his children, the eldest of whom had the honour of holding a commission under his Majesty, and had always conducted himself like a gentleman; that he had endeavoured, to the best of his ability, to be useful to the crown on all occasions, and even at the breaking out of the rebellion, he was so far from approving of it, or showing the least proneness to promote that "unnatural scheme," that he had used his interest in Kilmarnock and places adjacent, and had prevented numbers from joining in the insurrection; that after joining the insurrection after the battle of Prestonpans, he was so far from assuming any consequence, that he had neither provided arms nor raised a single man for the service of the insurgents; that he had been instrumental in saving the lives of many of his Majesty's loyal subjects who had been taken prisoners; that he had assisted the sick and wounded, and had done everything in his power to make their confinement tolerable; that he had not been long with the insurgents till he saw his error; and that, with this impression, he had allowed himself to be taken prisoner after the battle of Culloden, when he could have escaped. He concluded by stating, that if after what he had stated their lordships did

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not feel called upon to employ their interest with his Majesty for his royal clemency, that he would lay down his life with the utmost resignation, and that his last moments should "be employed in fervent prayer for the preservation of the illustrious house of Hanover, and the peace and prosperity of Great Britain."

The Earl of Cromarty began a most humiliating but pathetic appeal, by declaring that he had been guilty of an offence which merited the highest indignation of his Majesty, their lordships, and the public; and that it was from a conviction of his guilt that he had not presumed to trouble their lordships with any defence. "Nothing remains, my lords," he continued, "but to throw myself, my life, and fortune, upon your lordships' compassion; but of these, my lords, as to myself is the least part of my sufferings. I have involved an affectionate wife, with an unborn infant, as parties of my guilt, to share its penalties; I have involved my eldest son, whose infancy and regard for his parents hurried him down the stream of rebellion. I have involved also eight innocent children, who must feel their parent's punishment before they know his guilt. Let them, my lords, be pledges to his Majesty; let them be pledges to your lordships; let them be pledges to my country for mercy; let the silent eloquence of their grief and tears; let the powerful language of innocent nature supply my want of eloquence and persuasion; let me enjoy mercy, but no longer than I deserve it; and let me no longer enjoy life than I shall use it to deface the crime I have been guilty of. Whilst I thus intercede to his Majesty through the mediation of your lordships for mercy, let my remorse for my guilt as a subject; let the sorrow of my heart as a husband; let the anguish of my mind as a father, speak the rest of my misery. As your lordships are men, feel as men; but may none of you ever suffer

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the smallest part of my anguish. But if after all, my lords, my safety shall be found inconsistent with that of the public, and nothing but my blood can atone for my unhappy crime; if the sacrifice of my life, my fortune, and family is judged indispensably necessary for stopping the loud demands for public justice; and if the bitter cup is not to pass from me, not mine, but thy will, O God, be done."

When the lord-high-steward addressed Lord Balmerino, he produced a paper, and desired it might be read. His Grace told his lordship that he was at liberty to read it if he pleased; but his lordship replied that his voice was too low, and that he could not read it so distinctly as he could wish. One of the clerks of Parliament, by order of the lord-high-steward, then read the paper, which was to this effect: That although his Majesty had been empowered by an act of Parliament, made the last session, to appoint the trials for high treason to take place in any county he should appoint, yet, as the alleged act of treason was stated to have been committed at Carlisle, and prior to the passing of the said act, he ought to have been indicted at Carlisle, and not in the county of Surrey, as the act could not have a retrospective effect. His lordship prayed the court to assign him counsel to argue the point. The peers then retired to their own house, where they debated the matter, and after they had returned to the court, the lord-high-steward stated to Lord Balmerino, that the lords had agreed to his petition for counsel, and at his request they assigned him Messrs. Wilbraham and Forrester, and adjourned the court to the first of August.

The three prisoners were again brought back from the Tower. On that day the lord-high-steward asked Lord Balmerino if he was then ready by his counsel to argue the point, which he proposed to the court on the pre-

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vious day. His lordship answered, that as his counsel had advised him that there was nothing in the objection sufficient to found an arrest of judgment upon, he begged to withdraw the objection, and craved their lordships' pardon for giving them so much trouble. The prisoners then all declaring that they submitted themselves to the court, Lord Hardwicke addressed them in a suitable speech, and concluded by pronouncing the following sentence: "The judgment of the law is, and this high court doth award, that you, William, Earl of Kilmarnock; George, Earl of Cromarty; and Arthur Lord Balmerino, and every of you, return to the prison of the Tower from whence you came. From thence you must be drawn to the place of execution. When you come there, you must be hanged by the neck, but not till you are dead; for you must be cut down alive; then your bowels must be taken out and burnt before your faces; then your heads must be severed from your bodies; and your bodies must be divided each into four quarters; and these must be at the king's disposal. And God Almighty be merciful to your souls." Then the prisoners were removed from the bar to be carried back to the Tower; and the lord-high-steward standing up uncovered, informed the lords that all the business was completed, which, by his commission, he was required to execute, and then taking the white rod in both his hands, broke it in two pieces, and declared the commission at an end. The peers then adjourned to their chamber; and the three prisoners, after taking a cold collation which had been prepared for them, were carried back to the Tower in the same order and form as before.

The Earl of Kilmarnock immediately presented a petition to the king for mercy, couched in the same servile strain as his speech, and almost in similar language.



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He also presented another, which was a copy of the first, to the Prince of Wales, praying his Royal Highness's intercession with his Majesty in his behalf; and a third to the Duke of Cumberland for a similar purpose. In this last mentioned petition he asserted his innocence of charges which had been made against him, of having advised the putting to death of the prisoners taken by the Highland army before the battle of Culloden, and of advising or approving of an alleged order for giving no quarter to his Majesty's troops in that battle. In the petitions to the king and the Prince of Wales, the earl repeated the statement he had made in his speech after his condemnation, that he had surrendered himself at the battle of Culloden, at a time when he could have easily escaped; but he afterwards declared that the statement was untrue, and that he was induced to make it from a strong desire for life; that he had no intention of surrendering; and that, with the view of facilitating his escape, he had gone towards the body of horse which made him prisoner, thinking that it was Fitz-James's horse, with the design of mounting behind a dragoon. These petitions were entirely disregarded.

The Earl of Cromarty, with better claims to mercy, also petitioned the king. In support of this application the countess waited upon the lords of the cabinet-council, and presented a petition to each of them; and, on the Sunday following the sentence, she went to Kensington palace in deep mourning, accompanied by Lady Stair, to intercede with his Majesty in behalf of her husband. She was a woman of great strength of mind, and though far advanced in pregnancy, had hitherto displayed surprising fortitude; but on the present trying occasion she gave way to grief. She took her station in the entrance through which the king was to pass to chapel, and when he approached she fell



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upon her knees, seized him by the coat, and presenting her supplication, fainted away at his feet. The king immediately raised her up, and taking the petition, gave it in charge of the Duke of Grafton, one of his attendants. He then desired Lady Stair to conduct her to one of the apartments. The Dukes of Hamilton and Montrose, the Earl of Stair and other courtiers, backed these petitions for the royal mercy by a personal application to the king, who granted a pardon to the earl on the ninth of August.

The high-minded Balmerino disclaimed to compromise his principles by suing for pardon, and when he heard that his fellow-prisoners had applied for mercy, he sarcastically remarked, that as they must have great interest at court, they might have squeezed his name in with their own. From the time of his sentence down to his execution, he showed no symptoms of fear. He never entertained any hopes of pardon, for he said he considered his case desperate, as he had been once pardoned before. When Lady Balmerino expressed her great concern for the approaching fate of her lord, he said, "Grieve not, my dear Peggy, we must all die once, and this is but a few years very likely before my death must have happened some other way. Therefore, wipe away your tears; you may marry again, and get a better husband." About a week after his sentence a gentleman went to see him, and apologizing for intruding upon him when he had such a short time to live, his lordship replied, "Oh! Sir, no intrusion at all: I have done nothing to make my conscience uneasy. I shall die with a true heart, and undaunted; for I think no man fit to live who is not fit to die; nor am I anyways concerned at what I have done." Being asked a few days before his execution in what manner he would go to the scaffold, he answered, "I will go in

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the regimentals which I wore when I was first taken, with a woollen shirt next my skin, which will serve me instead of a shroud to be buried in." Being again asked why he would not have a new suit of black, he replied, "It would be thought very imprudent in a man to repair an old house when the lease of it was near expiring; and the lease of my life expires next Monday." The king could not but admire the high bearing and manly demeanour of this unfortunate nobleman; and when the friends of the other prisoners were making unceasing applications to him for mercy, he said, "Does nobody intercede for poor Balmerino? He, though a rebel, is at least an honest man."

On the eleventh of August an order was signed in council for the execution of the Earl of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino, and on the twelfth two writs passed the great seal, empowering the constable of the Tower to deliver their bodies to the sheriffs of London, for execution on Monday, the eighteenth. The order for their execution was announced to the unfortunate noblemen by Mr. Foster, a dissenting clergyman. Lord Kilmarnock received the intelligence with all the composure of a man resigned to his fate, but at the same time with a deep feeling of concern for his future state. Balmerino, who perhaps had as strong a sense of religion as Kilmarnock, received the news with the utmost unconcern. He and his lady were sitting at dinner when the warrant arrived, and, being informed of it, her ladyship started up from the table and fainted away. His lordship raised her up, and after she had recovered, he requested her to resume her seat at table and finish her dinner.

On the Saturday preceding the execution, General Williamson, at Kilmarnock's desire, as is supposed, gave him a minute detail of all the circumstances of

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solemnity and outward terror which would accompany it. He told the earl, that, on Monday, about ten o'clock in the morning, the sheriffs would come to demand the prisoners, who would be delivered to them at the gate of the Tower; that thence, if their lordships thought proper, they should walk on foot to the house appointed on Tower hill for their reception, where the rooms would be hung with black to make the more decent and solemn appearance, and that the scaffold also would be covered with black cloth; that his lordship might repose and prepare himself in the room fitted up for him as long as he thought it convenient, remembering only that the warrant for the execution was limited to, and consequently expired at, one o'clock; that, because of a complaint made by Lord Kenmure, that the block was too low, it was ordered to be raised to the height of two feet; that, in order to fix it the more firmly, props would be placed directly under it, that the certainty or decency of the execution might not be obstructed by any concussion or sudden jerk of the body. All this Lord Kilmarnock heard without the least emotion, and expressed his satisfaction with the arrangements. But when the general told him that two mourning hearses would be provided, and placed close by the scaffold, in order that, when their heads were struck off, the coffins might be soon taken out to receive the bodies, he said he thought it would be better for the coffins to be upon the scaffold, that the bodies might be sooner removed out of sight. And being further informed, that an executioner had been provided who would perform his duty dexterously, and that, moreover, he was "a very good sort of man," Kilmarnock said: "General, this is one of the worst circumstances you have mentioned. I cannot thoroughly like for such business your good sort of men; for one

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of that character, I apprehend, must be a tender-hearted and compassionate man, and a rougher and a less sensible temper might be fitter to be employed." The earl then desired that four persons might be appointed to receive the head when it was severed from the body, in a red cloth, that it might not, as he had been informed was the case on some former executions, roll about the scaffold, and be thereby mangled and disfigured; for that, though this was, in comparison, but a trifling circumstance, he was unwilling that his body should appear with any unnecessary indecency after the law had been satisfied. Being told that his head would be held up to the multitude, and public proclamation made that it was the head of a traitor, his lordship observed, that he knew that such a practice was followed on all such occasions, and spoke of it as a thing which did not in the least affect him. After this conversation, Mr. Foster advised the earl to think frequently on the circumstances which would attend his death, in order to blunt their impression when they occurred.

Balmerino was not actuated with the same feeling of curiosity as Kilmarnock was, to know the circumstances which would attend his execution; but awaited his fate with the indifference of a martyr desirous of sealing his faith with his blood. The following letter, written by him on the eve of his execution, to the Chevalier de St. George, strikingly exemplifies the cool intrepidity of the man, and the sterling honesty with which he adhered to his principles:—

"SIR:—You may remember, that, in the year 1716, when your Majesty was in Scotland, I left a company of foot purely with a design to serve your Majesty, and, had I not made my escape then, I should certainly have been shot for a deserter.

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“ When I was abroad I lived many years at my own charges before I ask’d anything from you, being unwilling to trouble your Majesty while I had anything of my own to live upon, and when my father wrote me that he had a remission for me, which was got without my asking or knowledge, I did not accept of it till I first had your Majesty’s permission. Sir, when his Royal Highness the prince, your son, came to Edinburgh, as it was my bounden and indispensable duty, I joyn’d him, for which I am to-morrow to lose my head on a scaffold, whereat I am so far from being dismayed, that it gives me great satisfaction and peace of mind that I die in so righteous a cause. I hope, Sir, on these considerations, your Majesty will provide for my wife so as she may not want bread, which otherwise she must do, my brother having left more debt on the estate than it was worth, and having nothing in the world to give her. I am, with the most profound respect, Sir, your Majesty’s most faithful and devoted subject and servant,

“ BALMERINO.”

“ TOWER OF LONDON,  
17th August, 1746.”

On Monday, the eighteenth of August, about six o’clock in the morning, a thousand foot-guards, a troop of life-guards, and one of horse-guards, marched through the city, and drew up on Tower hill. They formed round the scaffold, and extended themselves to the lower gate of the Tower, in two lines, with a sufficient interval between to allow the procession to pass. About eight o’clock the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, the under-sheriffs, six sergeants-at-mace, six yeomen, and the executioner, met at the Mitre Tavern, in Fenchurch Street, where they breakfasted.

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After breakfast they proceeded to the house on Tower hill, hired by them for the reception of the prisoners, in front of which the scaffold had been erected. At ten o'clock the block was fixed on the stage, covered with black cloth, and several sacks of sawdust were provided to be strewn upon the scaffold. Soon after, the two coffins were brought and placed upon the scaffold. Upon Kilmarnock's coffin was a plate with this inscription, "*Gulielmus Comes de Kilmarnock, decollatus 18<sup>o</sup> Augusti, 1746, ætat. suæ 42,*" with an earl's coronet over it, and six coronets over the six handles. The plate on Balmerino's coffin bore this inscription, "*Arthurus Dominus de Balmerino, decollatus 18<sup>o</sup> Augusti, 1746, ætat. suæ 58,*" surmounted by a baron's coronet, and with six others over the handles.

These preparations were completed about half-past ten, when the sheriffs, accompanied by their officers, went to the Tower, and, knocking at the door, were interrogated by the warder from within, "Who's there?" "The sheriffs of London and Middlesex," was the answer made by one of the officers. The warder then, agreeably to an ancient practice, asked, "What do they want?" when the same officer answered, "The bodies of William, Earl of Kilmarnock, and Arthur, Lord Balmerino." The warder then said, "I will go and inform the lieutenant of the Tower." General Williamson thereupon went to inform the prisoners that the sheriffs were in attendance. When told that he was wanted, Lord Kilmarnock, who had just been engaged in prayer with Mr. Foster, betrayed no fear, but said, with great composure, "General, I am ready; I'll follow you." At the foot of the stair he met Lord Balmerino. They embraced each other, and Balmerino said, "I am heartily sorry to have your company in this expedition." The ill-fated noblemen were then

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brought to the Tower gate, and delivered over to the sheriffs, who granted receipts for their persons to the deputy-lieutenant of the Tower. When the prisoners were leaving the Tower, the deputy-lieutenant, according to an ancient usage, cried, "God bless King George!" to which Kilmarnock assented by a bow, but Balmerino emphatically exclaimed, "God bless King James." The procession then moved slowly forward in the following order: First, the constables of the Tower Hamlets, followed by the knights' marshal's men and tipstaves, and the sheriffs' officers. Then the prisoners, attended by their chaplains, and the two sheriffs, followed by the warders of the Tower, next a guard of musketeers. Two hearses and a mourning coach closed the procession. When it had passed through the lines into the area of the circle, the passage was closed, and the horse that were stationed in the rear of the foot, on the lines, wheeled off, and drew up five deep behind the foot, on the south side of the hill, facing the scaffold. The prisoners were then conducted to the house fitted up for their reception, and, being put into separate apartments, their friends were admitted to see them. When the prisoners arrived at the door of the house, some persons among the crowd were heard asking others, "Which is Lord Balmerino?" His lordship overhearing the question, turned a little about, and with a smile said, "I am Balmerino, gentlemen, at your service."

About eleven o'clock Lord Balmerino sent a message to Lord Kilmarnock requesting an interview, which being consented to, Balmerino was brought into Kilmarnock's apartment. The following dialogue, as reported by Mr. Foster, then ensued. BALMERINO — "My lord, I beg leave to ask your lordship one question." KILMARNOCK — "To any question, my lord, that you shall think proper to ask, I believe I shall see no reason to



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decline giving an answer." B. — "Why then, my lord, did you ever see or know of any order signed by the prince, to give no quarter at Culloden?" K. — "No, my lord." B. — "Nor I neither; and therefore it seems to be an invention to justify their own murders." K. — "No, my lord, I do not think that inference can be drawn from it; because, while I was at Inverness, I was informed by several officers that there was such an order, signed 'George Murray;' and that it was in the duke's custody." B. — "Lord George Murray! Why, then, they should not charge it upon the prince." After this conversation the prisoners tenderly saluted each other, and Balmerino, after bidding his friend in affliction an eternal and happy adieu, added, with a countenance beaming with benignity, "My dear lord, I wish I could alone pay the reckoning and suffer for us both."

Lord Kilmarnock appeared to be most anxious to impress upon the minds of those who were with him the sincerity of his repentance for the crime for which he was about to suffer. He declared himself fully satisfied with the legality of King George's title to the crown, and stated that his attachment to the reigning family, which had suffered a slight interruption, was then as strong as ever. He spent a considerable time in devotion with Mr. Foster, till he got a hint from the sheriffs that the time was far advanced, his rank as an earl giving him a melancholy priority on the scaffold. After Mr. Foster had said a short prayer, his lordship took a tender farewell of the persons who attended him, and, preceded by the sheriffs, left the room followed by his friends. Notwithstanding the great trouble he had taken, in accordance with the wish of Mr. Foster, to familiarize his mind with the outward apparatus of death, he was appalled when he stepped upon the scaffold at beholding the dreadful scene



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around him, and, turning round about to one of the clergymen, said, "Home, this is terrible!" He was attired in a suit of black clothes, and, though his countenance was composed, he had a melancholy air about him, which indicated great mental suffering. Many of the spectators near the scaffold were so much affected by his appearance that they could not refrain from tears, and even the executioner was so overcome that he was obliged to drink several glasses of spirits to enable him to perform his dreadful duty.

Mr. Foster, who had accompanied his lordship to the scaffold, remained on it a short time in earnest conversation, and having quitted it, the executioner came forward and asked his lordship's forgiveness in executing the very painful task he had to perform. The unhappy nobleman informed the executioner that he readily forgave him, and, presenting him a purse containing five guineas, desired him to have courage. His lordship then took off his upper clothes, turned down the neck of his shirt under his vest, and undoing his long dressed hair from the bag which contained it, tied it round his head in a damask cloth in the form of a cap. He then informed the executioner that he would drop a handkerchief as a signal for the stroke about two minutes after he had laid his head down upon the block. Either to support himself, or as a more convenient posture for devotion, he laid his hands upon the block. On observing this the executioner begged his lordship to let his hands fall down, lest they should be mangled or break the blow. Being told that the neck of his waistcoat was in the way, he rose up, and with the help of Colonel Craufurd, one of his friends, had it taken off. The neck being now made completely bare to the shoulders, the earl again knelt down as before. This occurrence did not in the least discompose him,

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and Mr. Home's servant, who held the cloth to receive his head, heard him, after laying down his head the second time, put the executioner in mind that in two minutes he would give the signal. He spent this short time in fervent devotion. Then, fixing his neck upon the block, he gave the fatal signal; his body remained without the least motion till the stroke of the axe, which at the first blow almost severed the head from the body. A small piece of skin which still united them was cut through by another stroke. The head, which was received into a scarlet cloth, was not exposed, in consequence, it is said, of the earl's own request, but along with the body, was deposited in the coffin, which was delivered to his friends, and placed by them in the hearse. The scaffold was then strewed over with fresh sawdust, and the executioner, who was dressed in white, changed such of his clothes as were stained with blood.

The first act of this bloody tragedy being now over, the under-sheriff went to Balmerino's apartments to give him notice that his time was come. "I suppose," said his lordship on seeing this functionary enter, "my Lord Kilmarnock is no more." Being answered in the affirmative, he asked the under-sheriff how the executioner had performed his duty, and upon receiving the account, he said, "Then it was well done, and now, gentlemen," continued the inflexible Balmerino, turning to his friends, "I will detain you no longer, for I desire not to protract my life." During the time spent in Kilmarnock's execution Balmerino had conversed cheerfully with his friends, and twice refreshed himself with a bit of bread and a glass of wine, desiring the company to drink him "a degree to heaven." Saluting each of his friends in the most affectionate manner, he bade them all adieu, and leaving them bathed in

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tears, he hastened to the scaffold, which he mounted with a firm step.

The strong feeling of pity with which the spectators had beheld the handsome though emaciated figure of the gentle Kilmarnock gave place to sensations of another kind when they beheld the bold and strong built personage who now stood on the stage before them. Attired in the same regimentals of blue turned up with red which he had worn at the battle of Culloden, and treading the scaffold with a firm step and an undaunted air, he gloried in the cause for which he suffered, and forced the assembled multitude to pay an unwilling tribute of admiration to his greatness of soul. His friends, on beholding the apparatus of death, expressed great concern; but his lordship reproved their anxiety. His lordship walked round the scaffold, and bowed to the people. He then went to the coffin, and reading the inscription, said it was correct. With great composure he examined the block, which he called his "pillow of rest." He then put on his spectacles, and pulling a paper from his pocket, read it to the few persons about him, in which he declared his firm attachment to the house of Stuart, and stated that the only fault he had ever committed deserving his present fate, and for which he expressed his sincere regret, was in having served in the armies of the enemies of that house, Queen Anne and George the First. He complained that he had not been well used by the lieutenant of the Tower, but that having received the sacrament the day before, and read several of the psalms of David, he had forgiven him, and said that he now died in charity with all men.

Calling at last for the executioner, that functionary stepped forward to ask his forgiveness, but Balmerino interrupted him, and said, "Friend, you need

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not ask my forgiveness; the execution of your duty is commendable." Then presenting him with three guineas, his lordship added, "Friend, I never had much money; this is all I have; I wish it was more for your sake, and am sorry I can add nothing else to it but my coat and waistcoat." These he instantly took off, and laid them down on the coffin. He then put on the flannel waistcoat which he had provided, and a tartan cap on his head, to signify, as he said, that he died a Scotchman; and going to the block, placed his head upon it in order to show the executioner the signal for the blow, which was by dropping his arms. Returning then to his friends, he took an affectionate farewell of them, and surveying the vast number of spectators, said, "I am afraid there are some who may think my behaviour bold; but," addressing a gentleman near him, he added, "remember, Sir, what I tell you; it arises from a confidence in God, and a clear conscience."

Observing at this moment the executioner with the axe in his hand, he went up, and taking it from him, felt the edge. On returning the fatal instrument Balmerino showed him where to strike the blow, and encouraged him to do it with resolution, "for in that, friend," said he, "will consist your mercy." His lordship then, with a countenance beaming with joy, knelt down at the block, and extending his arms, said the following prayer, "O Lord, reward my friends, forgive my enemies, bless the prince and the duke; and receive my soul." He then instantly dropped his arms. The executioner taken unawares by the suddenness of the signal, hurriedly raised the axe, and missing his aim, struck the ill-fated lord between the shoulders, a blow which, it has been said, deprived the unfortunate nobleman of sensation; but it has been averred by some

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of the spectators that Balmerino turned his head a little round upon the block, gnashed his teeth, and gave the executioner a ghastly stare. Taking immediately a better aim, the executioner gave a second blow which almost severed the head from the body, and deprived the noble victim of life. The body having fallen from the block, it was instantly replaced, and the executioner once more raising the fatal weapon finished his task. The head was received in a piece of red cloth, and deposited along with the body in the coffin, and being put into a hearse was carried to the chapel of the Tower, and buried with that of Lord Kilmarnock, near the remains of Lord Tullibardine. Mr. Humphreys, curate of the chapel, read the funeral service, and when he came to the words, "Ashes to ashes, dust to dust," two gentlemen, friends of the deceased, took up the spades, and performed that part of the office instead of the grave-diggers.

For a time the unhappy fate of the two lords almost exclusively engaged the attention of the public, and in private circles, as well as in the periodicals of the day, the conduct and bearing of the unfortunate noblemen were viewed and commented upon according to the partialities and political feelings of the parties. By the Whigs, and generally by all persons of a real or affected seriousness of mind, Kilmarnock was regarded as a perfect model of the dying Christian, who, though he had been guilty of base ingratitude to the government, and had told a falsehood at his trial, had fully atoned for his offences by his contrition; whilst his companion in suffering was looked upon as an incorrigible rebel, who had braved death with an unbecoming levity. The Jacobites, however, and even some of the friends of the revolution settlement, whilst they could not but admire the calm resignation of Kilmarnock, heartily

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despised the cringing pusillanimity which he displayed to soften the resentment of the government. Balmerino was viewed by them in a very different light. Whilst the Jacobites looked upon him as an illustrious martyr, who had added a lustre to their cause by his inflexible intrepidity, and the open avowal of his sentiments, the other section of his admirers applauded his courage, and paid a just tribute to his honesty. The more dispassionate judgment of posterity has done ample justice to the rectitude and magnanimity of this unfortunate nobleman.

The next victims to the offended laws were Donald Macdonald, of the Keppoch family, who had served as a captain in the regiment of that chief; Walter Ogilvy, a young man of good family in Banffshire, a lieutenant in Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment; and James Nicolson, who had kept a coffee-house in Leith. These three with one Alexander Macgrowther, who also held a commission in the Highland army, were taken at Carlisle. When brought to the bar of the court at St. Margaret's hill, the three first pleaded guilty, and begged for mercy; but Macgrowther attempted to defend himself on the ground that he was forced into the insurrection by the Duke of Perth against his will, having as a vassal no power to withstand the commands of his superior. This defence, which was also made by many of the Scotch prisoners, was overruled. On the second of August these four persons were condemned, and Macgrowther having been afterward reprieved, the remainder suffered on Kennington common, on the twenty-second of the same month. Macdonald and Nicolson were executed in their Highland dress. The same revolting process of unbowelling, etc., practised upon the bodies of Townley and his companions, was gone through; but the spectators were spared the revolting spectacle, which was wit-



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nessed on that occasion, of cutting down the prisoners whilst alive.

On the nineteenth of September Captain Crosby, who had deserted from the British army in Flanders, and come to Scotland with the French troops, was hanged, and two deserters were shot at Perth. A singular incident happened on this occasion. To carry the sentence against Crosby into execution on the day appointed, the hangman of Perth was secured in the town prison; but having apparently no certainty that he would perform his painful duty, the hangman of Stirling was sent for by the magistrates, who, upon his appearance, liberated the timorous functionary. The hangman immediately fled the place. Captain Crosby was brought to the place of execution on the appointed day, but before the time for throwing him off arrived, the executioner dropped down dead. After remaining a considerable time at the place of execution the guard was returning with Crosby to the prison, when an infamous criminal, who was a prisoner in the jail, offered to hang the captain for a reward of ten guineas and a free pardon. The authorities having acceded to the demand of this ruffian, Crosby was immediately carried back to the place of execution, and suffered with great fortitude.

The sittings at St. Margaret's hill were resumed on the twenty-third of August, and were continued from time to time for about two months. Bills were found against thirty-two persons, besides Lord Macleod, and Secretary Murray; but these last were not brought to trial. Of the thirty-two tried no less than twenty-two were convicted at different times, all of whom received sentence of death on the fifteenth of November. Of these, eight of the principal were ordered for execution on the twenty-eighth of that month. Among these were Sir John Wedderburn, John Hamilton,

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Andrew Wood, Alexander Leith, and James Bradshaw. Sir John Wedderburn had acted as receiver in the counties of Perth and Angus of the ale and malt arrears raised by the Highland army; Hamilton had been governor of Carlisle; Wood, a youth of two-and-twenty, had distinguished himself as a volunteer in Roy Stewart's regiment; Leith had served as a captain in the Duke of Perth's regiment, and though old and infirm had been remarkable for zeal and activity; and Bradshaw had shown his devotion to the cause of the Stuarts by giving up a lucrative business as a merchant in Manchester, and expending all his wealth to promote it. He entered the Manchester regiment; but thinking that he could be of more use by marching with the Highland army into Scotland than by remaining at Carlisle, he joined Lord Elcho's corps, and was taken prisoner after the battle of Culloden.

The prisoners were apprised of their fate, but some of them entertained hopes of mercy. Sir John Wedderburn probably may have indulged such an expectation, but if so, he appears to have abandoned it on the day preceding his execution, when he addressed the following letter to Prince Charles:

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS:—I had the honour to be employed by your Royal Highness to collect the excise of ale and malt arrear in the counties of Perth and Angus. My eldest son attended Lord Ogilvy the length of Derby and back again. I happened to be taken prisoner at the battle of Culloden, was carried up here, condemned, and am to be executed to-morrow. I leave a wife and nine children in a very miserable way as to subsistence. I have given strict injunctions to my wife to educate my children, being five sons and four daughters, in the strictest principles

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to your Highness's family. If your Royal Highness pleases to honour them with your protection in consideration of my suffering, while my last moments shall be spent in praying for the prosperity of your Royal Highness and family, by him who is, and ever has been,

“ May it please your Royal Highness,

“ Your most devoted, humble servant, and faithful subject,

“ JOHN WEDDERBURN.”

“SOUTHWARK NEW GAOL,

17th November, 1747.”

On the morning of the execution two of the prisoners of the name of Farquharson and Watson obtained a reprieve, and the keeper of the jail, entering the apartments of the other prisoners about nine o'clock, informed them that the sheriff was in attendance to receive their persons. Wood, who appears to have been more concerned for Hamilton than himself, inquired of the jailer if he had been respited, and being answered in the negative, said, “ that he was sorry for that poor old gentleman.” After being conducted into the court of the prison, the unfortunate gentlemen were provided with some refreshment. Wood there called for some wine, and drank the health of “ King James,” and the prince. Bradshaw, still in hopes of pardon, looked cheerful. A reprieve *did* arrive at this awful crisis, but it was for a prisoner named Lindsay, who was about going into the sledge. The effect upon this man's feelings, when his pardon was announced, was such, that his life appeared for a time in danger.

The five prisoners were then drawn to the place of execution in two sledges. As they approached the fatal spot, Sir John and Bradshaw fixed their eyes steadfastly upon the gallows, and Bradshaw was observed

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to shed tears. When upon the scaffold, Bradshaw recovered himself, and read a paper, in which he declared that he had joined "the king's forces" from a principle of duty only, and that he never had reason since to be convinced that he had been mistaken; but that, on the contrary, every day's experience had strengthened his opinion that what he had done was right and necessary. He stated that he had had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the most ungenerous enemy he believed ever assumed the name of a soldier, — "the pretended Duke of Cumberland, and those under his command," whose inhumanity, he observed, had exceeded everything he could have imagined, "in a country where the name of a God is allowed of." He then contrasted the inhumanity exercised towards the prisoners taken by the royal forces with the humanity of Charles, who, he stated, ordered his prisoners the same allowance of meat as his own troops, and always made it his particular concern that all the wounded should be dressed and used with the utmost tenderness. He stated that the extreme caution of the prince to avoid the effusion of blood, even in the case of spies when his own safety made it absolutely necessary, and his surprising generosity towards all his enemies without distinction certainly demanded different treatment, and he could scarce have thought that an English army under English directions could possibly have behaved with such unprovoked barbarity. He expressed his firm conviction, that the order attributed to Charles to give no quarter was "a malicious, wicked report, raised by the friends of the usurper" to excuse the cruelties committed by his troops in Scotland. After a high eulogium upon the qualifications of the prince, the paper concluded with a prayer for the preservation of "King James the Third, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of

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York." When Bradshaw had finished reading, he delivered the paper into the hands of the sheriff. All the prisoners prayed for "King James." After being tied up they remained a short time in prayer, when they were thrown off. After hanging for some time, their bodies were cut down, and their bowels taken out and thrown into the fire. This was the last execution in the neighbourhood of London of such as were condemned by the commissioners at Southwark.

Besides the trials at Southwark, other trials took place at Carlisle and York, chiefly of prisoners taken at Culloden. Early in August, no less than 385 of these unfortunate beings had been brought to Carlisle; but as the trial of such a great number of persons, with a view to capital punishment, might appear extremely harsh, a proposal was made to the common prisoners, who formed the great mass, that only one in every twenty should be tried according to lot, and that the remainder should be transported. This proposal was acceded to by a considerable number.

The commission was opened at Carlisle on the eleventh of August, when bills of indictment were found against 119 persons. The judges adjourned to the ninth of September; and, in the meantime, they repaired to York, where the grand jury found bills against seventy-five persons confined there. The judges resumed their sittings at Carlisle for the trial of the prisoners there, on the ninth of September, on which, and the two following days, the prisoners, against whom bills had been found, were arraigned. Bills were found against fifteen more on the twelfth, making a total of 134. Of these, eleven pled guilty when arraigned; thirty-two entered the same plea when brought to trial; forty-eight were found guilty, of whom eleven were recommended to mercy, thirty-six acquitted, five remanded to prison

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till further evidence should be procured, and one obtained delay on an allegation of his being a peer. The judges resumed their sittings at York on the second of October, and sat till the seventh. Of the seventy-five persons indicted, two pled guilty when arraigned, fifty-two when brought to trial, and sixteen were found guilty, four of whom were recommended to mercy. All these received sentence of death. Five only were acquitted.

Of the ninety-one prisoners under sentence at Carlisle, thirty were ordered for execution; nine of whom were accordingly executed at Carlisle on the eighteenth of October. The names of these were Thomas Coppock (created Bishop of Carlisle by Charles), John Henderson, John Macnaughton, James Brand, Donald Macdonald of Tyerndrich, Donald Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, Francis Buchanan of Arnprior, Hugh Cameron, and Edward Roper. Six were executed at Brampton on the twenty-first of the same month, viz., Peter Taylor, Michael Delaird, James Innes, Donald Macdonald, Peter Lindsay, and Thomas Park. The following seven suffered at Penrith, viz., David Home, Andrew Swan, Philip Hunt, Robert Lyon, James Harvey, John Roebotham, and Valentine Holt. Seven out of the thirty were reprieved, and one died in prison. All those who were executed underwent the usual process of unbowelling.

On the first of November ten of the prisoners condemned at York suffered in that city. The names of these were Captain George Hamilton, who had been taken at Clifton, Edward Clavering, Daniel Fraser, Charles Gordon, Benjamin Mason, James Mayne, William Conolly, William Dempsey, Angus Macdonald, and James Sparke. And on the eighth of the same month, the eleven following suffered the same fate,

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viz., David Roe, William Hunter, John Endsworth, John Maclellan, John Macgregor, Simon Mackenzie, Alexander Parker, Thomas Maginnes, Archibald Kennedy, James Thomson, and Michael Brady. Another prisoner, named James Reid, suffered on the fifteenth of November. The work of death also closed at Carlisle on the fifteenth of December by the immolation of eleven more victims, namely, Sir Archibald Primrose of Dunnipace, Charles Gordon of Dalpersy, Patrick Murray, who had been a goldsmith in Stirling, Alexander Stevenson, Robert Reid, Patrick Keir, John Wallace, James Michel, Molineux Eaton, Thomas Hays, and Barnaby Matthews.

Out of the seventy-seven persons who thus suffered, it is remarkable that, with the solitary exception of Lord Kilmarnock, they all maintained to the very last, the justice of the cause for which they suffered. The more enthusiastic among them even openly declared that they would continue to support the claim of the exiled family to the crown if set at liberty.

Notwithstanding this wasteful expenditure of human blood, the government did not consider the work of destruction complete till the lives of two individuals, who lay more especially under its ban, were sacrificed, as a last atonement to public justice. These were Charles Ratcliffe and Lord Lovat. The former was a younger brother of the Earl of Derwentwater, who suffered in 1716, and whose title Mr. Ratcliffe had assumed. He had been engaged in the former insurrection, taken at Preston, and condemned, but made his escape out of Newgate; and after passing some years in France and Italy, married the Countess of Newburgh at Paris. He had visited England privately in 1733, and returned again two years thereafter, when he appeared openly in public. Soliciting his pardon without



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success, he returned to France, where he remained till November, 1745, when he was made prisoner on board a French vessel, when on her way to Scotland with supplies for Prince Charles. He was arraigned at the bar of the court of king's bench on the twenty-first of November, 1746, upon his former sentence; but he refused either to plead or to acknowledge the authority of the court, on the ground that he was a subject of France, where he had resided thirty years, and honoured with a commission in the service of his most Christian Majesty. Being brought to the bar next day, his former sentence being read over to him, he pleaded that he was not the person therein mentioned; but his identity being clearly established, he was ordered to be executed on the eighth of December. His aunt, Lady Petre, did everything in her power to save him, or at least to procure a respite till his lady should arrive from Paris, but without success. Some demur seems, however, to have existed, as the preparations for his execution were so long delayed, that the carpenters were obliged to work on the scaffold on Sunday, the day before the execution, and all the following night.

About ten o'clock in the morning of Monday, the eighth of December, the block and cushion, which were covered with black cloth, were brought up and fixed upon the stage, and soon thereafter the coffin was also placed upon the platform. It was covered with black velvet, fixed on with nails gilt with gold, and had eight handles similarly gilt; but it is said that there was no plate or inscription on the coffin at this time. About eleven o'clock the two sheriffs, attended by their officers, made their appearance, and after inspecting the scaffold, went to the Tower and demanded the body of Mr. Ratcliffe from General Williamson, the deputy-governor. Being delivered up, he was put into a landau, and



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conducted over the wharf, at the end of which he entered a booth lined with black adjoining the stairs of the scaffold, which had been fitted up for his reception. After spending about half an hour in devotion, he proceeded to the scaffold, preceded by the sheriffs, and attended by a clergyman and some friends. He was dressed in a suit of scarlet, faced with black velvet trimmed with gold, a gold-laced waistcoat, and wore a white feather in his hat. When he came upon the scaffold he took a tender farewell of his friends. He then addressed the executioner, to whom he presented a purse of ten guineas. After spending about seven minutes in prayer on his knees, he rose, and pulling off his clothes, went forward to the block, on which he placed his head to try how it fitted. He then spoke to the executioner as if giving him directions, and kneeling down again, and fixing his head upon the block, in about two minutes he gave the signal to the executioner, who, as in the case of Balmerino, did not complete his work till he had given the third blow. The head was received in a scarlet cloth. Without the levity of Balmerino, Mr. Ratcliffe displayed the same manly fortitude and contempt of death exhibited by that unfortunate nobleman. He died, as he had lived, a Catholic; and so warmly was he attached to the faith of his ancestors, that when some zealous Protestant objected to him, that some of the tenets of his religion were contrary to reason, he is said to have wished, that for every such tenet, the belief of which was required by the Church, there were twenty, that he might have a larger field for exercising his faith. His body was delivered over to his friends, and interred by them on the eleventh of November, at St. Giles's-in-the-fields, near the remains of his brother. A gilt plate was put on his coffin, with this inscription, "Carolus Ratcliffe,

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Comes de Derwentwater, decollatus Die 8<sup>o</sup> Decembris, 1746, Ætat 53. Requiescat in pace."

The last scene of this bloody tragedy ended with the trial and execution of the aged Lord Lovat, who had been confined in the Tower since the fifteenth of August. He was impeached by the House of Commons on the eleventh of December, and was brought to the bar of the House of Peers on the eighteenth, when the articles of impeachment were read to him. At his own desire, Messrs. Starkie, Forrester, Ford, and Wilmott, were assigned him for counsel, and he was appointed to put in answers to the articles of impeachment on or before the thirteenth of January. The trial, which was appointed to take place on the twenty-third of February, was postponed to the fifth, and afterward to the ninth of March, on which day it commenced. The articles of impeachment were in substance, that he had compassed and imagined the death of the king; that he had corresponded with the Pretender, accepted a commission from him to be a lieutenant-general of his forces, and another to be general of the Highlanders, and that he had accepted a patent from the Pretender, creating him Duke of Fraser; that he had met with armed traitors, and had raised, and caused to be raised, great numbers of armed men, the king's subjects, for the service of the Pretender and his son, and had traitorously levied, and caused to be levied, a cruel and unnatural war against his Majesty; that he had written and sent a treasonable letter to the son of the Pretender when in arms within the kingdom; that he had also written and sent other treasonable letters and papers to other persons, then openly in arms against the king; that he had assisted the rebels in their traitorous designs, and had sent his eldest son, and many of his name, family, and dependents, to the assistance of the

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Pretender's eldest son and other rebels, and had given them advice, directions, and instructions, in the prosecution of the rebellion; and finally, that he had unlawfully and traitorously, both in person and by letters, held correspondence with the eldest son of the Pretender, and with divers persons employed by him, and particularly with Murray of Broughton, the two Lochiels, John Roy Stewart, Doctor Cameron, and others. To all these charges Lord Lovat gave a pointed denial.

They were, however, fully established by the strongest proofs. The written evidence consisted of papers found in his lordship's strong box, besides some letters which he had written to Prince Charles, the last of which having come into the hands of Murray of Broughton, in his capacity of secretary to the prince, were basely delivered up by him to save his own worthless life. Lovat exerted all his ingenuity to evade the force of the evidence; but the proofs of his criminality were too clear to admit of any doubt. His lordship objected to the admissibility of Murray as a witness, on the ground that he was attainted by act of Parliament made in the previous session, and that he had not surrendered himself in terms of the act. Having stated that he had several objections against the witness, one or two of which he considered essential; a discussion ensued as to whether all these objections should not at once be stated. As giving a fair sample of the manner in which the trial was conducted, the argument on both sides, on the point alluded to, is here given: —

“MR. ATTORNEY - GENERAL. — My lords, I observe that the noble lord at the bar said that he had several objections to the examining this witness, and that one or two of them were essential; but the noble lord has

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not mentioned more than one. I presume, my lords, it would be proper that he should name all his objections at once, that the managers may have an opportunity of answering them all, and receiving your lordships' judgment upon the whole; therefore, if he has any other objections to offer, it would be proper he should mention them now to your lordships. LORD LOVAT. — My lords, I submit it to your lordships that that is a very odd proposition. I give your lordships an essential one now, and when that is answered I have another. I am not to be directed by those who are my *persecutors*. LORD-HIGH-STEWARD. — My Lord Lovat, you are not to be directed by your accusers, but by the lords who are your judges; and the course of proceeding in this and all other courts is, that a person, who objects to any witness, should name all his objections at the same time; and it is the more material in this court, as it tends to prevent the trouble of making several unnecessary adjournments. LORD L. — My lords, as this objection is very essential, I pray that it may be answered before I make another. LORD TALBOT. — If this is a material objection to the witness, then there will be no occasion for any other; but if it is an immaterial one, then your lordships may go into any other; but the way proposed by the managers may be very detrimental to the unhappy person at the bar. LORD H. S. — Your lordships hear what is proposed; and the question is, whether the noble lord at the bar shall name all his objections now, or take them up one by one. SIR WILLIAM YONGE (one of the managers from the commons). — My lords, I should hope that, in any course of proceeding, where objections of this kind are made, they should be made all together; for if they are made separate, we must consequently make distinct answers to them all, which may oblige your lordships to adjourn often to the cham-

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ber of Parliament, which will create a great and unnecessary delay of time; and, my lords, there can be no objection to his naming the whole at once, since they will all be distinctly considered by your lordships, and undoubtedly receive distinct answers. I therefore humbly insist, that he may be obliged to name all his objections at once. MR. NOEL (another manager). — My lords, what we are now upon is no point of law at all. It is singly, whether the noble lord at the bar as is usual should not name all his objections at once. When he does name them, then to such as are clear points of law he must be heard by his counsel; but at present, my lords, we are upon a question concerning the course of proceeding, whether he shall name them all at once, that they may be taken into consideration at the same time. My lords, one thing struck me in a very extraordinary manner: — it was said by the noble lord at the bar, that he was not to be directed by his *persecutors*. My lords, we are no persecutors; we persecute no man; we are entrusted by the commons, who carry on this prosecution against the noble lord at the bar for treason, and we prosecute for the preservation of the king's government and the laws of the land. LORD L. — My lords, I said I was not to be directed by those who accused me. Your lordships cannot expect I can say what I have to offer in an eloquent manner. My lords, should the saving of a little time be a reason for taking away a person's life? I hope these will not act like the parricides who took off the head of both kingdoms in a day by their prosecution. I am a peer of this land, and I think no excuse of saving time should be allowed as a reason to destroy me. LORD H. S. — My Lord Lovat, the lords will use all the deliberation, and give you all the time that is requisite for your defence; but I must beg your lordship will have so much consideration as

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to keep your temper, and not suffer yourself to be hurried into passion, for that may greatly prejudice you in making your defence. Your lordship will find the advantage in your defence by keeping your temper. LORD L. — I give your lordship my humble thanks; and since your lordships will not allow me counsel, I have spoke the little nonsense I had to say; but now your lordships shall hear me say nothing out of temper. LORD H. S. — My Lord Lovat, the question now is, whether you shall name all your objections at once. I must acquaint your lordship that that is the rule in the courts below, that if several objections are made to a witness, they are all named at once, in order to prevent unnecessary delays. LORD L. — My lords, to show how much I desire to save time, though, according to the course of nature, my time can be but short, I am so far from desiring to give your lordships trouble, or to prolong time, that I do insist upon this objection to the witness, and rely upon it as the only material objection.”

The managers having offered to prove, by the record of the court of king's bench, that Mr. Murray had surrendered himself within the time prescribed, the question whether the record should be received in evidence, was argued at great length by the counsel for Lord Lovat, and the managers on the part of the prosecution. Having decided that the record might be read and given in evidence, Lord Lovat offered to falsify the record, by proving, in opposition to the averment therein contained, that Mr. Murray had not surrendered himself as required by the act of Parliament. The court, however, decided that the record of the court of king's bench, which was, nevertheless, literally untrue, could not be falsified by oral evidence.

Being called upon to make his defence on the sixth

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day of the trial, Lovat gave in a long paper, in which he commented with great severity upon the witnesses, whose testimony he maintained was not to be credited. He designated Secretary Murray as "the most abandoned of mankind, who, forgetting his allegiance to his king and country, had, according to his own confession, endeavoured to destroy both, like another Catiline, to patch up a broken fortune upon the ruin and distress of his native country. To-day stealing into France to enter into engagements upon the most sacred oath of fidelity; soon after, like a sanguinary monster, putting his hand and seal to a bloody proclamation, full of rewards for the apprehending the sacred person of his Majesty, and lest the cup of his iniquity had not been filled, to sum up all in one, impudently appearing at their lordships' bar to betray those very secrets which he confessed he had drawn from the person he called his lord, his prince, and master, under the strongest confidence." "Thus far," he concluded, "I thought it my duty, in vindication of myself, to trouble your lordships, and without further trespassing upon your patience, freely submit my life, my fortune, my honour, and what is dearest of all, my posterity, to your lordships."

After the managers for the prosecution had addressed the court, Lord Lovat was withdrawn from the bar, and the lord-high-steward, standing up uncovered, put the same question *mutatis mutandis* to each peer present, beginning with the youngest baron, as he had done at the trials of Lord Kilmarnock and Balmerino. The whole peers present — 117 in number — unanimously found his lordship guilty. Lord Lovat was then called back to the bar, and informed by the lord-high-steward of the judgment of the court. Being brought up next day to receive his sentence, he addressed the court in a



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long speech, in which he gave a rambling recital of his services to the house of Hanover; and after receiving sentence, he implored their lordships and the managers of the Commons to recommend him to the mercy of his Majesty. Before leaving the bar, he said, "God bless you all, and I bid you an everlasting farewell. We shall not meet all in the same place again. I am sure of that."

On the second of April the sheriffs of London and Middlesex received a warrant for his execution, which was appointed to take place on the ninth. His lordship, it is said, petitioned the king that he might be despatched by the maiden, the Scottish instrument of decapitation; but his application was not attended to. His approaching fate did not in the least discompose him, and though in the eightieth year of his age, his spirits never flagged, nor was his natural vivacity in any degree diminished. He said, the day before his execution, that he was never at any time in better spirits; and he told Doctor Clark, his physician, that the Tower was a better recipe for upholding them than the emetics he used to give him. Though regardless of death, and even occasionally facetious on the circumstances of his coming exit, he was not indifferent to the consolations of religion, and cheerfully availed himself of the spiritual assistance of a Catholic priest. Early on the morning of the execution, twelve hundred troops drew up on Tower hill, and all the preparations were gone through as in the former instances. About an hour before the execution, a serious accident occurred, in consequence of the fall of a large scaffolding with four hundred persons, by which eighteen were killed on the spot, and many bruised and crippled. When he arrived at the scaffold, Lovat was obliged, from infirmity, to obtain the assistance of two persons in mounting. He displayed, to the very last, his characteristic forti-



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tude, and, with great coolness, felt the edge of the axe, with the sharpness of which he declared himself satisfied. He gave the executioner ten guineas; advised him to perform his duty firmly, and take a good aim; and told him that if he mangled his shoulders, he would be displeased with him. In conversation he used frequently to cite passages from the classics; and, on the present occasion, he repeated the celebrated saying of Horace, — “*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*,” as peculiarly applicable to the cause for which he was about to suffer. After spending some time in devotion, this remarkable man laid his head down upon the block with the utmost composure, and the executioner struck off his head at a single blow. His lordship had given directions that his body should be carried to Scotland, and his friends had removed it to an undertaker’s in the Strand preparatory to its being sent down; but, by order of government, it was interred at St. Peter’s in the Tower, in the same grave with Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino.

Whilst these executions could not fail to impress the disaffected with a strong idea of the power and inclination of government to uphold and maintain the authority of the law, they were calculated by their number and severity rather to excite a thirst for vengeance, than to inspire that salutary fear which it is the object of punishment to promote. During these executions, a scheme was concocted to arrest the arm of the law by seizing and carrying off the person of the Duke of Cumberland, and retaining him as an hostage for the lives of the prisoners. The originators of this bold design went from London to Paris, and laid their plan before Charles shortly after his arrival from Scotland, and offered to make the attempt; but Charles refused to sanction it, and the scheme was dropped.

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By way of conciliating the offended feelings of the nation, the government got an act of indemnity passed in June, 1747, granting a pardon, with certain exceptions, to all persons who had been engaged in the rebellion; but these exceptions were so numerous as to divest the act of all pretensions to the character of grace or favour. Besides all persons attainted of high treason by act of Parliament or judgment, or conviction of high treason by verdict, confession, or otherwise, upwards of eighty persons were specially excepted by name.

## CHAPTER VI

### PRINCE CHARLES AT PARIS

As soon as the French court received intelligence of the return of Charles to France, they gave orders to fit up the castle of St. Antoine for his reception. After resting a day or two at Morlaix, he set off for Paris, where he arrived on the morning of the fifteenth of October (N. S.). He was met near Paris by his brother, and a considerable number of the nobility, who conducted him to his appointed residence. The meeting between the two brothers, who had not seen each other for nearly three years, was of a most affecting description, and the persons who were present declared that they had never before witnessed such a moving scene. Charles at first sight did not know Henry, but the latter at once knew the prince, who is described by his brother as not in the least altered in his appearance since he last saw him, only that he had "grown somewhat broader and fatter."

Louis with his court was at this time residing at Fontainebleau, and as Charles was impatient to see him, he sent Colonel Warren thither with instructions to Colonel O'Bryen, the accredited minister of the Chevalier de St. George at the court of France, to request an audience. Some difficulties were started at first by the French ministers on the subject of this demand, but the king at last consented to see Charles and his brother, but stipulated that they should preserve a sort of incognito. Louis in fact had become tired of the war,

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and that he might not widen the breach between him and the court of London by appearing to recognize the pretensions of the exiled family, he had resolved not to receive the sons of the Chevalier at his court as princes of England. James, who was fully aware of this policy of the French court, thus argues the matter with Charles, who naturally felt indignant at the mode of his reception: "I am far from saying but that the King of France might have done a great deal more for you; but after all, we must consider the vast expenses he is at during the war, and the system he has certainly laid down to himself of not treating you and your brother as princes of England, which system I own shocked me at first, and seems preposterous in the present situation of affairs; but when one considers the uncertainty of the events of war, and that if we are not restored before a peace, the King of France cannot but continue to acknowledge the Elector of Hanover as King of England, and by consequence treat us no more as princes of England; we cannot but own that it is wise in him, and in a certain sense even kind to us, not to expose himself and us to a possibility and necessity of ceasing to treat us according to our birth, after having once done it."

If Louis had been actuated by the motive thus charitably imputed to him, the reasoning of James would have been plausible enough; but Charles, who had both before and during his expedition experienced the hollowness of the French policy, could not fail to perceive that his father had formed an erroneous idea of Louis's intentions. As by the treaty of Fontainebleau he had been recognized by that monarch as prince regent of Scotland, Charles had good reason to complain of the mode in which he was to be received by his most Christian Majesty; but he repressed his feelings of dis-

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appointment on the occasion, and yielded to a necessity which it was not in his power to control. He resolved, however, to neutralize the effect which his appearance at court as a private person might have upon the people by getting up a splendid equipage, and proceeding to Fontainebleau in great state.

Accordingly, on the day fixed for his reception at court, Charles left the castle of St. Antoine, accompanied by a number of his friends in coaches and on horseback. Lords Ogilvy, and Elcho, and Kelly the prince's secretary, were in the first carriage. Charles himself, along with Lord Lewis Gordon, and old Lochiel, were in the second; two pages richly dressed sat on the outside, and ten footmen in livery walked on each side of the coach. The third coach contained four gentlemen of the prince's bedchamber; and young Lochiel and several other gentlemen followed on horseback. The *cortège* was on the whole very grand; but Charles himself attracted particular attention by the superbness of his dress. His coat was of rose-coloured velvet embroidered with silver, and lined with silver tissue. His waistcoat was of rich gold brocade, with a spangled fringe set out in scallops. The cockade in his hat, and the buckles of his shoes, were studded with diamonds. The George at his bosom, and the order of St. Andrew, which he wore at one of the buttonholes of his waistcoat, were illustrated with large diamonds. "In fine," observes an enthusiastic eye-witness, "he glittered all over like the star which they tell you appeared at his nativity." Louis received Charles with great kindness, and, embracing him, said, "Mon tres chere Prince, je rend grace au Ciel qui me donne le plaisir extreme, de vous arrivé en bonne santé, apres tout de fatigues et de dangers. Vous avez fait boir que toutes les grands qualités des Heros, et des Philosophes se trouvent unies en vous;

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et j'espere qu'un de ces jours vous recevrez la recompence d'un merite si extraordinaire." After remaining about a quarter of an hour with the king, the prince passed to the apartment of the queen, who welcomed him with every demonstration of good-will and affection. He had never been at the court of France before, and every person was extremely desirous of seeing a prince of whom they had heard so much. In retiring from the palace, the whole court crowded about Charles, and complimented him so highly upon the fame of his exploits, that they could scarcely have testified greater joy or expressed themselves in warmer terms had the dauphin himself been engaged in the same dangerous expedition, and returned from it in safety. Charles, it is said, afterward returned to the palace, and supped with the king, queen, and royal family; and all his attendants were magnificently entertained at several tables which had been appointed for them, according to their rank.

Though the conduct of the French court towards Charles had been deceptive, yet it is understood that Louis was not so bad as his ministers in this respect; and besides, he appears to have entertained a warm regard for Charles personally. It is believed that Louis would have given proofs of his esteem by embarking with spirit in the cause of the exiled family; but he was controlled by his ministers, who certainly never were serious in their professions. Of the sincerity of the queen, however, there cannot be the least doubt. She and Charles's mother had passed many of their juvenile years together, and had contracted a warm attachment to each other, which had remained unaltered during the life of the latter. In Charles she now beheld the favourite son of her late friend, whom he strongly resembled, and she looked upon him with a maternal tenderness,

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which was enhanced by the reputation of his exploits, and the knowledge of the sufferings he had endured. Whenever he came to court she is said to have conversed with him for whole hours together, during which she would make him relate his adventures to her and the ladies around her, all of whom were frequently bathed in tears at the affecting recital.

Within a day or two after his arrival at Fontainebleau Charles wrote a letter to Louis requesting the honour of a private audience on the subject of his affairs, which appears to have been granted, as three days thereafter, namely, on the twenty-fifth of October, the prince requested another interview for the purpose of delivering into the king's own hands a short memoir in relation to his affairs. Unable to obtain a satisfactory answer, Charles left Fontainebleau, and took up his residence with his brother at Clichy, in the neighbourhood of Paris. His company was much sought after by the fashionable circles of that gay metropolis, but he kept himself comparatively retired. He appeared at the opera for the first time on the thirtieth of October, and was received by the audience with clapping of hands, which continued till the commencement of the opera, and was renewed at the conclusion.

From Clichy Charles despatched a letter of condolence to the King of Spain on the death of the late king, his father. He stated that no person had greater reason than he had to regret such an event, as that monarch had always given him important tokens of his friendship, and particularly during his stay in Scotland. He flattered himself that this friendship would be hereditary on the part of his Catholic Majesty, that the latter would continue the same good intentions towards him which the late king had entertained, and that he would give him such aid as he might judge proper for recover-

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ing the just rights of his family, and establishing a firm alliance between the two crowns.

Though surrounded by men of integrity, who had suffered proscription for his sake, Charles does not appear to have consulted any of them in his difficulties, nor to have honoured them with the least share of his confidence. Shortly after his return to France he wrote to his tutor, Sir Thomas Sheridan, who, after escaping to France, had repaired to Rome, requesting him to join him at Paris, and in the meantime he availed himself of the equivocal services of George Kelly. Sir Thomas, however, saw Charles no more, having died soon after the receipt of his pupil's letter. Charles then adopted Kelly as his confidant, but he appears to have been in every way unworthy of such a mark of distinction.

Some time after Charles's return to Paris, Louis removed his court from Fontainebleau to Versailles, where the prince and his brother met with a cordial reception from the royal family and the persons about the court, but Charles could not obtain any distinct pledge of support. This result was anticipated by his father, who had a just perception of the policy of France in his regard. "I am afraid," says James to the prince, "that you will have little reason to be satisfied with the court of France, and that you will not have less need of courage and fortitude in bearing and suffering in that country than you had in acting in Britain." Apprehensive of the impetuosity of Charles's temper, he most earnestly recommended him to conduct himself with patience and prudence, and warned him of the consequences which might ensue by adopting a different course. This admonition, however, was thrown away upon Charles.

Resolved to put the sincerity of the French court to the test, Charles presented a memorial to Louis on the



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state of his affairs. In this paper he drew the attention of the French king to Scotland, which he represented as on the eve of destruction; and he stated, that as the government appeared resolved to confound the innocent with the guilty, it was reasonable to conclude that the discontent of the nation would be general, and that if he was enabled to enter upon another enterprise the number of his adherents would be tripled. He also stated that he would be deceiving his most Christian Majesty were he to say that he could again subdue Scotland after his friends had been destroyed, and that if the opportunity was then lost the King of France might for ever renounce any expected aid to his arms by a revolution in that country; that he had always had numerous partisans in Scotland, though he had never had a sufficient supply either of money, provisions, or regular troops, and that if he had been well provided with only one of these three helps, he would still have been master of Scotland, and probably also of England; that if he had had three thousand regular troops he would have penetrated into England immediately after the battle of Preston, and as George II was then absent from the kingdom, and the English troops in Flanders, he could have marched to London without opposition; that had he been supplied with provisions he could have pursued General Hawley after the battle of Falkirk, and destroyed all his army, which was the flower of the British troops. Finally, that if he had received two months earlier only the half of the money which his Majesty had sent him, he would have fought the Duke of Cumberland on equal terms, and he would certainly have beaten him, since with four thousand men only he had kept victory in suspense, though opposed by an army of twelve thousand. Having thus stated the causes to which the failure of his expedition was owing,

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Charles proposed that Louis should furnish an army of eighteen or twenty thousand men, which he stated he would employ usefully for their mutual interests, which he considered inseparable.

Charles appears to have conducted himself, hitherto, with great moderation; but as no notice was taken of his demand for troops, he grew violent and imperious. The French ministry had, by order of Louis, granted a sum of 62,900 livres for the relief of such of Charles's adherents as had arrived in France, and Louis himself now offered him a pension suitable to his rank; but he refused to accept of it. James, who was fully informed of the circumstances of Charles's behaviour, thus expostulates with him: "By the way, what you say in relation to Cardinal Tencin, I am afraid you may have mistaken his meaning, and that you may have taken for his entering into your sentiments, a certain respectful silence in not contradicting them; and the truth is, I dread your feeling severely one day the consequence of your present conduct towards the court of France; for although, on account of the obligations they owe you, they may, out of a certain prudence and policy, dissemble for a time, yet by gaining the ill-will of those ministers, and by carrying things too high, you will sooner or later certainly feel the bad effects of it; whereas, had you received what the King of France lately offered you, it was still putting yourself in the possession of feeling the effects of his generosity, and you would have probably got much more in time in some shape or another." Count D'Argenson also was very complaisant to Charles; but James cautioned him not to infer therefrom, that his conduct was approved of by that minister. "For my part," says he, "I am persuaded he is a very good friend to us; but you must not flatter yourself, nor infer from general expressions or civilities from any of those

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ministers, that your present conduct towards them can either be agreeable to them or their master, for it cannot but be displeasing to them; and though they may bear with it for a time even out of a certain policy and decency after all that is past, yet it is impossible but that sooner or later you must feel the bad, and very bad effects of it, and you give by it but too natural and too reasonable a handle to those who don't wish our cause well, to oppose the King of France making any new attempt in our favour by representing to him your present conduct as a mark of your sentiments towards France and the French, who might have little to expect from you at home, since you behave towards them with so much *hauteur* and indifference when you are amongst them and depend on them, whereas, had you accepted, or should you accept the pension which was offered you, and carry yourself towards all those ministers with a certain civility and attention which may show your confidence in them, we may reasonably hope the best from them as long as the war lasts. For my part, I see nothing mean or unbecoming you in this conduct, and if you expect any good from them, you must, out of necessity, out of prudence and policy, submit to it, for we cannot hope to get any good from them by haughtiness and dryness. In our situation we must not expect that the French, or any other prince upon his throne, should be the first to seek us. You see, by woeful experience, that, without foreign assistance, it is in vain to hope we can ever go home; and, therefore, I think it behoves you much to make the proper advances for that purpose to the court of Spain as well as that of France, and that you should neglect nothing to cultivate the friendship, and obtain the assistance of these two courts."

Waiting upwards of two months, and receiving no answer to his memorial, Charles addressed a letter to

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Louis on the twelfth of January, in which, after alluding to the favours his Majesty had granted to his companions in misfortune, which he regarded as a new proof of his Majesty's generosity towards his family, he stated that his object in coming to the court of France was to propose a plan of an expedition, which would be much more advantageous for both parties than the former; that this object alone occupied all his thoughts, and that every other step which had been proposed to the King of France to promote his personal interests had been done without his sanction. He then informed his Majesty, that having given him a general idea of the nature of the expedition he wished, without receiving any answer to his application, he would feel himself obliged, in his own justification, to intimate the result to his friends, in order to show that he had done everything in his power for them; that he had it not in his power at that time to present to his Majesty a suitable acknowledgment for the favours he had received from him; but he hoped that he would be one day in a condition to give proofs thereof; that, notwithstanding his misfortunes, he believed he would fail in the duty he owed to the faithful subjects of his father, if, by occupying himself at Paris with his own personal concerns, he should flatter them with the vain and distant hope of seeing him again at their head; that the only hope he now had was in their fidelity; and since he had had the happiness of proving their zeal and affection, he would endeavour to preserve both by supporting them in any attempt they might make to shake off the yoke; and that he could not avoid informing his Majesty, that, notwithstanding the bad success of his enterprise, he had just received offerings of condolence full of affection, and the most disinterested advice on the part of his friends in England, through a person of distinction who had lately arrived

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in France, charged with instructions to that effect. He concluded by saying, that as he could not appear in the way in which he was persuaded his Majesty wished in his own heart to see him, he would retire to some place where his present condition would be of less consequence, and where he would be always ready to concur with the King of France in such steps as might contribute to his glory, and the restoration of his family to their just rights, and he trusted his Majesty would approve of his resolution. He added, that if, during his absence, the King of France should find it convenient to think seriously of another expedition, he would immediately return to the court on being informed of his Majesty's wish, and that, in the meantime, he would appoint a person at Paris who had his entire confidence to negotiate in his behalf with the King of France and his ministers.

As neither Louis nor his ministers had any intention of entering into Charles's views, they must have been well pleased with his determination to retire from Paris, where his presence had become exceedingly annoying; but some of his adherents regarded such a step with different feelings, as they thought it would be highly injurious to his interests. Among those who took an active part in opposing this resolution was young Lochiel. No man was more firmly bent upon another attempt than this high-minded chief, and instead of thinking with Charles, that no expedition should be undertaken without a large force, he was for accepting any succours that could be obtained. Some time after his arrival at Paris, he had opened a correspondence with the Chevalier de St. George, in which he represented to him that the misfortunes which had befallen his cause, though great, were not irretrievable, provided timely measures were adopted for checking the depopulating system which the English government seemed to have

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adopted. He stated that the ruin of the Scottish adherents of the exiled family would dispirit their friends in England so much, that a restoration would become extremely difficult if not impracticable, and that, at best, it could only be effected by an army superior to all the forces of the government; whereas, if ten regiments only were landed in Scotland before the Highlands were depopulated, not the Highlanders merely, but all other Scotchmen of spirit would unite in their support, and give so much employment to the troops of the government, that the English Jacobites might, with little assistance, be in a condition to shake off the yoke. He, therefore, advised the Chevalier to accept of whatever succours might be offered. Acting upon principles of the purest disinterestedness, Lochiel was opposed to every proposal which might seem to imply an abandonment of the cause which he had espoused, and when informed by Charles that an application had been made to the French court for a regiment to Lord Ogilvy, he told him that he disapproved of it, as such an application might make the court of France regard the affairs of the exiled family to be more desperate than they really were, and might prevent them from granting a body of troops for a new expedition. Charles seemed to concur in this view; but Lord Ogilvy having obtained a regiment, Charles proposed to ask one for Lochiel also. He objected, however, to the application being made, and told his Royal Highness that Lord Ogilvy, or others, might incline to make a figure in France, but that his ambition was to serve his country, or perish with it. Charles remarked that he was doing everything in his power to forward his cause; and persisting in his resolution to procure a regiment for his faithful friend, Lochiel consented to accept of it if obtained, from respect to the prince, though he declared his determination to

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share the fate of the people he had undone, and if they were to be sacrificed to the vengeance of the government, to fall along with them. Lochiel now endeavoured to persuade Charles to remain at Paris, and represented to him the bad consequences that might ensue to his affairs by retiring; but his resolution was fixed.

Charles had in fact resolved to pay a visit to the King of Spain, and his retirement to Avignon, whither he announced his intention to proceed, was a mere blind to conceal his design from the court of France. The Chevalier, desirous in the present posture of his affairs of paying his court to his Catholic Majesty, had been, for some time, applying for permission to send his youngest son to Spain. He announced his intention to Charles, and stated that he considered it would be for his interest, that while one of his sons was in France, the other should be in Spain. He also thus notified his design to Henry: "You must not be angry with me for being about a project which will necessarily part you from your brother for some time; and it is to get leave for you to go into Spain, for I think it would be for the interest of our family and your personal advantage, that you should go thither in the present juncture, and I own I am so fond of, and intent upon this idea, that I am impatient to see it put in execution, and, therefore, I have taken measures, that if permission be granted, Mr. O'Bryen should be immediately informed of it directly from Spain, so that when he may receive such an answer from them, I would have you depart immediately for that country without waiting for any further instructions or directions from me."

When James felt so uneasy in reference to Charles's deportment towards the French ministry, as to write him repeated remonstrances on the subject, it may be supposed that he would have been gratified at his resolu-



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tion to retire to Avignon, more particularly as the Chevalier's agents at Paris, who had been discarded by Charles, would have probably regained the little influence they had with the French court; but James was equally disappointed with the prince's friends at Paris at Charles's determination. In a letter which he wrote to the prince in answer to one from the latter, dated the twenty-first of January, stating his intention to retire to Avignon, James stated the great concern which he felt, at a step of which he could not comprehend the meaning, and that nothing, in his opinion, could justify it but a resolution on the part of the King of France not to allow him to remain in that kingdom.

Charles left Paris for Avignon about the end of January, 1747. During his stay at Paris, he had evinced a laudable anxiety to mitigate the sufferings of his companions in misfortune by acts of kindness; but there was one among them who met with neither sympathy nor gratitude at his hands. This was Lord George Murray, who had sacrificed more for him than any other individual then living. Aware of this feeling of Charles towards him, Lord George did not visit Paris on his arrival in Holland in December; but, after some stay, proceeded to Rome to pay his respects to the Chevalier de St. George. Charles, however, appears to have expected him at Paris; and in the event of his arrival there during his absence, he left written instructions with his brother Henry, to do everything in his power to get him arrested and committed to prison.

Shortly after Charles's departure, his brother, Henry, received a notification from his father, of his intention to send him to Spain. He immediately sent a copy of the Chevalier's letter to Charles, and stated his regret at the prospect of being removed to such a distance from his brother; but instead of thanking him for this kind



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expression of his feelings, Charles returned him a very petulant answer. He informed him that, while in Scotland, he had formed a design of going to the court of Spain himself, and that he had left Paris with that intention; that having resolved to make the journey, he had not asked leave from his father for fear of being refused; and that he intended to go and return with all imaginable privacy. He then stated that he would despatch O'Sullivan to inform his father of his design, and to inform him of every step he had taken since he had come to France. He therefore entreated Henry, by all the ties of brotherly affection, and by the regard which he had for the success of the cause, not to start from Paris though he should get leave, until the result of Charles's journey was known. In conclusion, he requested him to confide the secret of his journey to the King of France upon receipt of his next letter, and to represent to Louis that he had suddenly taken the resolution of making a journey to Spain after his arrival at Avignon. Henry, whose character was extremely mild and conciliating, stated, in reply, that he had communicated "the king's letter" to him as soon as he had received it, and that his province in that, as in everything else, was blind obedience; but he observed, that his father could not foresee Charles's resolution, and that if his going to Spain would change the system Charles seemed to have proposed to himself, he would not make use of any leave he might obtain without receiving farther orders, which, he was convinced, would be to remain at Paris, whenever his father knew of Charles's determination to proceed to Spain.

Accompanied by Kelly, Doctor Cameron, and two or three domestics, Charles left Avignon about the middle of February, and reached Barcelona on the twenty-second of that month, whence he despatched a letter to

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Caravajal, the Spanish minister, announcing his arrival in the territories of his Catholic Majesty, and enclosing a letter to the king, requesting permission to come to Madrid to pay his respects. His request being granted, Charles repaired to Madrid; but his reception appears to have been cold and formal, and he did not even see the queen-dowager, whom he was particularly anxious to meet. Alluding to this visit, the Chevalier observes to Charles, "I am much more concerned than surprised you had not a better reception in Spain; but I am in hopes your going thither will be of no ill consequence, provided you manage your matters in a proper manner on your return to Paris."

In a memoir which Charles presented to Caravajal on the sixth of March, to sound the intentions of the Spanish court, he requested, 1, to be informed in the event of the King of France agreeing to fit out an expedition in his favour what aid his Catholic Majesty would contribute in its support. 2. He required that thirty thousand fusils and ten thousand sabres should be set apart for his use in a convenient place, in order that when occasion required he might obtain them at once in a quiet manner. 3. That two or three small ships should be got ready as soon as possible, and loaded with grain, to be sent to Scotland under the charge of a gentleman he would send along with them. 4. That the King of Spain should give him commissions for three Scotch regiments, which, when completed, should be formed into a brigade. In answer to these demands, Caravajal stated, that his master could spare no ships of war to assist in the expedition, as he had only seventeen in Europe, that some of these were disabled, and that the rest were employed in the Italian war; that as to arms, orders would be given to manufacture the required number; and that arrangements would be made for carrying his demand for

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a supply of grain into effect. Finally, that as to the proposal about the regiments, he believed his Majesty would give his consent to it.

After remaining four or five days at Madrid, Charles retired to Guadalaxara till he should obtain a definitive answer on the subject of raising the regiments. His Catholic Majesty at last consented, but stipulated that none but Scotchmen should be admitted into these regiments, a condition which, under existing circumstances, rendered their formation impracticable. Finding his journey thus in a manner unavailing, Charles set off from Guadalaxara about the middle of February for Paris, where he arrived on the twenty-fourth of March, after an absence of about two months. On the following day he wrote a letter to Caravajal announcing his arrival, which he also intimated next day to the Duke d'Huescar, the Spanish minister at the court of Versailles.

It is probable that Charles's return to Paris was hastened by a remonstrance sent to him by Lochiel on the subject of his retirement to Avignon. This zealous chief represented to the prince that peace was the topic of general conversation, and as there existed an universal desire for it in France, there was reason to believe that George II and his allies would obtain any terms they might ask in relation to his Royal Highness. He observed, that though assured there was nothing practicable, dangerous, or even desperate, that the prince would not attempt to prevent the ruinous consequences of such a peace, yet he was far from wishing to propose any measure of such a character, as he was persuaded that his Royal Highness had it still in his power to prevent a peace by wise and honourable means. After a cursory view of the prince's affairs, Lochiel earnestly entreated him to reflect that his reputation would suffer in the opinion of all mankind if he should give occasion to

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suppose that he had slighted or neglected every possible means of retrieving his affairs. He then proposed, that if Charles could not obtain from France such an embarkation of troops as would enable him to land in England and overturn the government at one blow, he should endeavour to get an embarkation for Scotland, where the disposition of the people was still so favourable, that if he could return to the Highlands with artillery, arms, and ammunition, and only four or five battalions of foot, he believed he would not only relieve his distressed friends, and save the remainder of the country from ruin, but deliver all Scotland from the slavery to which he supposed it would soon be reduced.

Charles accordingly renewed his application to Louis and his ministers, but he did not succeed in bringing "these people to reason," as he himself expresses it, or in other words, prevailing on them to accede to his demand. Baffled again in his attempt to induce the French government to engage actively in his cause, Charles contemplated a matrimonial alliance with the czarina, with the view of engaging her in his interest; but his father, to whom he communicated his design, considered it impracticable, and Charles appears to have immediately dropped it. Writing in answer to a letter from Charles, of twenty-fifth April, 1747, James says: "The chief article in it much surprised me; for what hopes can you have that a simple and a blunt proposal of marriage to the czarina, and of her undertaking an expedition in your favour can succeed at a time she is linked with the Elector of Hanover that she would not so much as allow Lord Marischal to stay in her country, and all you could expect by making such an overture at present would be to make that court in the first place, and others who might know it in the second, have but an indifferent opinion of the prudence and manage-

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ment of those who might direct your councils. Such a match, if it could really effect your restoration, would no doubt be desirable, though it is not without its objections even in respect to you, as well as to her, were she otherwise well-disposed towards us." The Chevalier again recurs to the subject in a subsequent letter, in answer to one from Charles of the tenth April: "I look upon your hopes of the czarina's being favourable to us to be without any foundation; and would say the same in relation to the King of Sweden (to whom Charles had an idea of applying for aid) personally, but as the government there is not of the same sentiments as their king, and in good correspondence with France, it might not perhaps be impossible to obtain some assistance from that country in case of a new expedition from France, and I think that is a point it would be very proper to speak of, and consult Count D'Argenson about.

Notwithstanding the untoward appearance of his affairs, Charles was by no means discouraged; but the promotion of his brother to the cardinalate, which took place about three months after his return from Spain, damped his spirits. Henry had every reason to be dissatisfied with Charles's conduct towards himself personally; but he made no complaints, and it was only owing to the peevish way in which Charles alluded to him in his letters to his father that James became apprised of his dislike to his brother. Being of a pious disposition, Henry became desirous of embracing the ecclesiastical state, and resolved to repair to Italy to consult his father upon the subject. As he knew that Charles would object to his departure from Paris, and might possibly take measures to prevent it, he went off without informing him, leaving a letter behind him addressed to Charles, in which he assigned the great desire he had to see his father as the reason for his

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departure. Charles complained to his father of Henry's leaving Paris without acquainting him; but whilst James admitted that it was certainly not according to rule that Henry should have gone away without taking leave of Charles in person, he said he could not blame him for it under existing circumstances.

The first notice which Charles received of the intended promotion of his brother was by a letter from his father, dated from Albano on the thirteenth of June, 1747. Charles was both grieved and enraged when he received this intelligence, and shut himself up for several hours to give vent to his sorrow. Hitherto Charles had drank the health of his father and brother every day at dinner, but he now discontinued that of Henry, and forbade every person about him ever to mention his name in his presence. The friends of the family regretted exceedingly this step on the part of Henry, which was certainly a very imprudent one, as far as the expected restoration of the Stuarts was concerned, as it narrowed their prospects of success; but neither Henry nor James had any ambition for a crown, and the latter intended, if the succession opened, never to assume the diadem. Both the pope and James notified to the King of France the design of presenting Henry with a cardinal's hat, and Louis in return signified his approbation of the step. The new cardinal was complimented on his elevation by the English, Scotch, and Irish Catholic seminaries in France, and other continental states; though it may be supposed that some of the directors of those institutions were, like others of their countrymen, displeased with it.

Among other subjects of uneasiness, which pressed heavily upon Charles at this time, was the state of his pecuniary concerns. He still resolutely refused to receive any pension from the French court, and it was perhaps

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owing to this refusal that the French ministry showed no disposition to pay the allowances which had been granted to his adherents. To relieve the prince's immediate necessities, his father had sent him an order on Waters, his banker at Paris, for fifteen thousand livres, significantly observing, however, that as Charles had refused the pension which Louis had offered, the Chevalier presumed that he had some other resource to supply his wants. James, however, had taken care that the obstinacy of his son should not stand in the way of Louis's bounty; and he accordingly directed O'Bryen, his agent, to draw the pension which Charles had refused; to apply the third part thereof for the use of his son, Henry, whilst in France, and to lay out the other two-thirds in the way he should be afterward directed. Mr. John Græme, in a letter to the Chevalier de St. George, represents the prince as having no visible fund of subsistence, and that he could compare his "situation to nothing better than an immense labyrinth, out of which he had not a bit of thread to conduct him." Charles was too proud to ask his father for aid; but the latter, on hearing of his difficulties, ordered O'Bryen to pay forty thousand livres into O'Sullivan's hands on his account, out of the sum he had drawn on account of Charles's pension. The prince, however, consistently declined the money, knowing the source whence it came.

In the circumstances in which he was thus placed by his own obstinacy, Charles, who never displayed much generosity towards those who had offended him, was not in the best possible mood to exercise the virtue of forgiveness. His father had repeatedly written him in relation to his threatened seizure of Lord George Murray, and had strongly inculcated the propriety of forgiving a man who had suffered so much in his cause; but Charles disregarded these paternal admonitions. Lord



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George was very desirous to effect a reconciliation, by making every reasonable submission that could be required of him, and for this purpose left Rome for Paris, where he arrived on the tenth of July at night. Charles was then living at St. Ouen, in the neighbourhood of Paris; and Lord George having, the day after his arrival, ascertained the place of his residence, intended to proceed thither early on the twelfth, to pay his respects to the prince. His lordship was, however, prevented from carrying his intention into effect, by a message from Charles, who, hearing of his arrival in Paris, sent Mr. Stafford, one of his household, to Lord George, to inform him that it was the prince's wish that he should not appear at St. Ouen, as he had resolved not to see Lord George; and Stafford farther intimated to his lordship, that he would do well to leave Paris as soon as he could. Lord George then requested Stafford to acquaint his Royal Highness that he had come to France with no other design but to pay his respects to him, and that he would punctually obey his orders by leaving France. Not to trust too much to his memory for what had passed, Lord George, immediately after the departure of the messenger, wrote a note of the particulars, which he sent enclosed in a letter to the Chevalier de St. George.

Notwithstanding frequent disputes with the French ministers, Charles always endeavoured to keep on good terms with their master; and when he defeated the confederates at Laffeldt, he wrote a letter expressive of the great joy he felt on the occasion. As every victory gained over the allies appeared favourable to his cause, he cannot be well blamed for entertaining such a feeling; but the existence of this document subverts the idea generally entertained, that Charles never expressed any satisfaction at the conquests of the French in Flanders.



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He was no doubt solicitous that Great Britain should maintain her honour in the field and on the ocean; but his patriotism was not so disinterested as to make him prefer that honour to the crown for which he was contending. It was not until he saw that he could no longer depend upon France for aid that his patriotism was roused.

Much as Charles trusted to his personal powers for negotiation, he soon found that it was no easy matter to bring the ministers of Louis "to reason;" and that, to be successful, it was necessary to obtain the aid of some experienced politician. He accordingly looked about him for one in whom he could repose his confidence, and fixed upon Lord Marischal as the person most likely to answer his wishes. To this nobleman, who was then living at Treviso, Charles despatched a letter in the month of August, in which he stated that his father had left him entire master, to employ such persons as were most agreeable to him, and that he might easily believe his first choice would light upon him. He informed his lordship that his situation was very critical, and required more than ever the assistance of his friends. As he placed an entire confidence in his lordship, and knew nobody that could be of more service to him, he informed him that his desire was that his lordship should join him with all convenient speed, and that he had too good an opinion of his loyalty and regard for his bleeding country to make him have the least doubt of his compliance, especially since all the causes of discontent which his lordship might, heretofore, have had were now quite removed. Highly complimentary as this letter was, Lord Marischal declined the honour intended him. He stated that he had not retired from public life till he saw how useless his services were, and must have been had they been continued; and that the broken state of his

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health required that he should pass the rest of his days in quiet.

Disappointed in his advances to Lord Marischal, Charles gave himself up entirely to the direction of George Kelly, his secretary, who, it is alleged, was personally obnoxious to the French court. To counteract the rising power of this new favourite, the pernicious influence of whose counsels some of the adherents of the exiled family were already beginning to feel, Sempil, one of the Chevalier's agents at Paris, by desire of Lochiel and Drummond of Bochaldy, drew up and forwarded a representation to James in the month of June, 1747. The Chevalier, who was a very good judge of mankind, foreseeing the bad consequences that would result if Kelly was allowed to guide the councils of the prince, had cautioned Charles against his interference shortly after his return from Scotland; but the prince attributed his father's dislike to Kelly to the misrepresentations of his enemies, and James, in his usual easy way, seems to have adopted the idea. "As for Kelly," says he to Charles, "if you suppose ill offices may have been done him with me, you cannot take it amiss if I should suppose other people may have had ill offices done them with you; but whatever may be in such matters, I shall be always loath to constrain you, or to make use of my authority, and when I have told you what I think, I shall leave you to determine what you may think proper for you to do. If you remark well what I wrote about Kelly, you will find that what I said attacked more his discretion than his honesty; and, therefore, all I will require of you as to him, is never to show him any of my letters, or to employ him in writing here about business." In a subsequent letter, alluding to some complaints made by Charles against his brother, James observes, "What you now write to me is manifestly the

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product of Kelly's malice, for were he once no more about you, your eyes would, I am persuaded, be soon opened, and we should be all good friends and easy together; but as long as you are directed or influenced by him, depend upon it nothing will go well with you, and you will never have a moment's quiet yourself; for under the name and shadow of our friends in England he will think he can make you believe and do what he pleases, while they perhaps in reality know nothing of the matter. It will not be the first time such tricks have been played; but in our present situation they may have more fatal consequences than in past times."

These admonitions, which were repeated after Drummond's communication, were however thrown away upon Charles, who clung to his secretary with as great pertinacity as ever. This predilection for Kelly, if the statement of Sempil is to be credited, ruined the prince's negotiations with the French ministry, who, according to him, would have entertained a proposal made by the Marquis de Puyzieux, of embarking a force for Scotland on the dissolution of the British Parliament; but the design was given up, because the persons in whom Charles seemed to repose his confidence were obnoxious to the French court, and were considered unworthy of trust.

Whilst the French government evaded Charles's demand for a supply of troops, it acceded in other respects to his wishes. A regiment was given to Lochiel, the arrears of the gratuities granted to the Scotch exiles were paid up, and a fixed allowance of thirty-six thousand livres per annum was granted to them, the appropriation of which was left entirely to the prince. Having thus provided for his friends, the French ministry thought that Charles's repugnance to a pension might be overcome, and accordingly M. de Lally, who was directed to communicate to him the largess granted to his ad-

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herents, was also appointed to sound him on the subject of an allowance to himself. M. de Lally, having acquitted himself of his commission, Charles addressed himself to the Marquis de Puyzieux, and requested him immediately to make his acknowledgments to his most Christian Majesty for the favours he had accorded to the unfortunate exiles. He observed, that as to that part of M. de Lally's communication which regarded himself personally, he was ready to accept with respect and gratitude any favour the King of France might do him; but that it was necessary that he should, in confidence, explain certain circumstances to him which he could not even do to his own father, without running the risk of endangering the interests of the latter. He remarked that his father had repeatedly given him unrestricted written powers, which had been renewed since his return from Scotland, authorizing him to take such steps as he might judge necessary for his interests, without rendering to him any account of his proceedings; and that the inconsiderate step which his brother had taken had confirmed the necessity to which he was reduced of acting by himself, and of endeavouring to do away the dangerous prejudices which that step had created in the minds of his father's enemies; that he had always considered the interest of the King of France and those of the house of Stuart as inseparable; and that the wars and revolutions which for a century had taken place, occasioned by a desire to cement these interests, superseded the necessity of adding new proofs in support of that assertion; yet, notwithstanding the intimate connection which had existed between France and his family, he was now not recognized in France. He next observed, that he had certain engagements to keep with his friends in England, and that as he was answerable to them for every step he took, it was of importance that they should

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not know that he was a pensioner of the King of France; that he would accept with pleasure even the smallest favour his Majesty was disposed to grant; but he begged that nothing should be given him in name of a pension, and that he should be permitted to deny to his English friends, even face to face, that he was in the receipt of it. It thus appears that Charles's objection to a pension did not proceed from any disinclination to receive the money, but from an apprehension that the circumstance of his becoming a pensioner of France would injure him with his English friends. It is not known whether the French government acted upon Charles's suggestion.

It was the policy of the French court, whilst the war lasted, to keep up appearances with the exiled family, so as to encourage the belief that it really intended to aid in its restoration. This notion was strengthened by the appointments of Lord Ogilvy and Lochiel to the command of regiments; and the fears of an invasion after Charles's return to France are said to have delayed for a time the embarkation of the British troops for Flanders. This system of intimidation would in all probability have been persevered in had not France become tired of a war which had exhausted her treasury, destroyed her commerce, and almost annihilated her navy. Her armies, it is true, had been eminently successful in the Netherlands, but the advantages she obtained in the field were greatly overbalanced by the stagnation of her trade and her losses at sea. The confederates were equally weary of a war in which they had reaped neither honour nor advantage, and they therefore gladly availed themselves of an offer of pacification made by his most Christian Majesty. The belligerent powers accordingly agreed to hold a congress, which was opened at Aix-la-Chapelle in March, 1748.

Charles now saw that all hopes of an immediate resto-

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ration were at an end, and he must have perceived, from the strong desire which existed in France for peace, and the low state to which that kingdom was reduced by the war, that his interests would form no bar in the way of a general pacification. A wise and prudent prince would have waited with patience the issue of events, submitted to a necessity which he could not control, and preserved, at least, an appearance of equanimity amid the fresh misfortunes which threatened him; but Charles had neither wisdom nor prudence sufficient for such a crisis. It would perhaps have been better for the family, if his father, who, from a love of ease, had invested the prince with full powers, had recalled them at this time, and notified the act to the French court; but James, though feelingly alive to Charles's faults, confined himself to reproof, and instead of hinting, as he should have done, that he would annul the power of regency which he had granted, if the prince continued to misconduct himself, he uniformly gave him to understand that he was, and would continue to be, "sole master."

The first public step which Charles took to mark his displeasure with the conduct of the French government, in suing for a peace, was of a very decided character. When the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle was about to assemble, he gave instructions to the *Sieur Roettier* to strike a medal with his head, and the inscription, "*Carolus Walliæ Princeps*," and on the reverse the figure *Britannia*, and a fleet of war-vessels, with the significant motto, "*Amor et Spes Britanniae*." The engraver having informed Charles that he could not strike the medal without an order from the court, the latter applied to one of the ministers for permission, the necessity of which, he informed him, he was not aware of, when he gave the directions about the medal, and of which he

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could not foresee the political consequence. He stated that the medal had been engraved by desire of his friends in England, and to prevent any offence that might be taken at the circumstance of a medal with such a device having been allowed to be struck in the capital of France, he suggested that the word Paris, as well as the name of the engraver, should be omitted. Charles, however, was very desirous to retain the date, to which, he thought, no exception could be taken when the place and the name of the engraver were left out. As France had been reduced to the necessity of suing for peace, in consequence of the disasters she had suffered at sea, the French ministers considered the device and motto as an insult to the French nation, and, it is believed, advised their master to withhold the required permission; but Louis refused, and coolly observed, that the prince, no doubt, had his reasons, and that it would be better not to thwart him on the present occasion.

When the medal appeared it created a great sensation in France, and many of the French nobility were deeply offended at the device and motto, which they regarded as an insult offered to the nation. The Prince of Conti, in particular, who was accounted one of the proudest men in all France, showed his chagrin on the occasion. Meeting Charles one day in the Luxembourg Gardens, Conti observed to Charles, with an air of pleasantry, under which a sneer was observed to lurk, that the device of his medal was not just so applicable as some persons might at first suppose, as the British navy had not shown any particular friendship for him. Charles, who at once perceived the censure, immediately replied, "*Cela est vrai, Prince! mais je suis nonobstant l'ami de la flotte contre tous ses ennemis; comme je regarderai toujours la gloire d'Angleterre comme la mienne, et sa gloire est dans la flotte.*" The Prince of Conti instantly



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left Charles without making any answer to this retort. About the time the medal was struck, Charles sat for his portrait to Tocqué, the eminent painter, which was immediately engraved by Wille, the celebrated engraver, with the title "*Carolus Walliæ Princeps.*" He afterward sat to De la Tour, another portrait painter of note.

As the belligerent powers were all extremely desirous of concluding the war, the plenipotentiaries assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle soon came to an understanding; and accordingly, on the thirtieth of April (N.S.), the preliminaries of a general peace were signed by the ministers of Great Britain, France, and the United Provinces, the basis of which was a general restitution of the conquests which had been made during the war. A suspension of arms almost immediately followed the signing of the preliminaries, which was proclaimed at London and in all the capitals of the contracting parties. Charles was not aware that the preliminaries had been signed till some time after the suspension of arms, and he consoled himself with the vain hope that peace was not so near at hand as was generally supposed.

During the negotiations Charles still went to court, though not so frequently as before, and always endeavoured to avoid any personal interviews with the king; but, when informed of the signing of the preliminaries, he gave up his visits entirely. His father, and the adherents of his family, expected that he would no longer remain in a kingdom which was now again to sacrifice the interests of his house; but, instead of evincing any disposition to depart, he gave a decided indication of fixing himself in Paris, by hiring a splendid hotel upon the Quai de Theatin, for himself and his principal friends, in order, as he said, to be near the opera, playhouse, and the other places of public diversion in Paris. To show





*Macdonell of Glenarry.*



*Macpherson.*



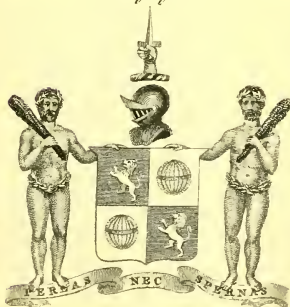
*Macquarrie.*



*Macgregor.*



*Stuart.*



*Lamont.*



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how little he regarded the proceedings at Aix-la-Chapelle, he appeared much gayer than usual, and when any person alluded, in his presence, to the congress, he seemed not to regard the matter, and waived the subject by singing or introducing some different topic of conversation. He even heard with apparent indifference the acclamations of the Parisian populace, who, though they were enthusiastically attached to him, were so happy at the prospect of peace that they could not contain their joy even before the door of his hotel and within his own hearing.

To show, however, that he was not indifferent to his rights, Charles drew up a protest against any stipulation which might be entered into by the contracting parties, contrary to these rights, of which he sent a copy to the King of France, enclosed in a letter from himself. In this letter he stated the pain and embarrassment which he felt at such a conjuncture, and that, as preliminaries had been signed with the confederated powers, against his just rights, he found himself indispensably obliged to enter a protest in the strongest terms. He observed that, after the treaty which had been concluded between him and his most Christian Majesty, during his expedition to Scotland, and the kindness which had been shown by his Majesty to the unfortunate gentlemen who had suffered on that occasion, he had hoped always to have enjoyed the friendship and protection of so great a king; but he begged most humbly to assure his Majesty, that, happen what would, nothing should diminish the respect which he entertained for his sacred person. This protest was afterward published. The Chevalier de St. George, in ignorance of Charles's protest, also published one in his own name, agreeably to a practice which he, and his father, King James II, had followed, whenever any treaty with Great Britain was entered into.

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After the preliminaries were signed, Louis had taken an early opportunity of intimating to Charles that he had renewed the engagements which he and his grandfather had formerly come under to the British government, in relation to the house of Stuart; but Charles, in his protest, entirely overlooked the stipulation which regarded his intended expulsion from the French territories. Louis probably expected that this hint would have been sufficient to induce Charles to quit France, but, as he indicated no intention to remove, the Marquis de Puyzieux, by desire of the king, sent a requisition in writing, to which he demanded an answer. The marquis stated that his master could not refuse to accede to the wishes of all Europe, by entering into stipulations which were considered absolutely necessary for conciliating the belligerent powers, and for establishing the public tranquillity upon a firm basis, and that the king, desirous of fulfilling the preliminaries, had ordered the marquis to notify to the prince the indispensable necessity there was that he should immediately conform to the arrangements entered into, in his regard, by retiring from the French territories. Charles returned an evasive answer to M. de Puyzieux's note the same day. He said he believed the marquis was aware of the declaration he had made, that he would oppose himself absolutely to everything that might be said, acted, and stipulated at Aix-la-Chapelle, or elsewhere; that he hoped his most Christian Majesty would reflect well upon the resolutions he might take in his regard; that he looked upon the present juncture as being more critical for the interests of his most Christian Majesty than his own; and that he had nothing so much at heart than of becoming useful one day to his Majesty, and of proving that his true interests were dearer to him than they were even to his own ministers.

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After this answer, matters appear to have remained *in statu quo* till October, on the seventh day of which month the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was finally concluded and signed. By this treaty the contracting parties agreed, without any limitation, to a literal insertion of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, by which it was stipulated, that neither the "Pretender," nor any of his descendants, should be allowed to reside within the territories belonging to any of the parties to the treaty. Meanwhile Louis was looking out for a suitable asylum for Charles Edward. Knowing that the prince had declared that he would never return to Italy, he directed M. de Courteille, his envoy, to the Cantons of Switzerland, to ask a residence for Charles in the city of Fribourg. The regency complied with the request, but Mr. Barnaby, the British minister to the Helvetic body, violently opposed the plan, and presented a remonstrance to the magistracy of Fribourg, couched in such terms as to draw upon him the censure of the regency.

The next person selected by Louis to act as negotiator with Charles was the Cardinal de Tencin, who was supposed to have some influence with him. The cardinal delivered the message with which he had been entrusted in the most delicate manner, and endeavoured to convince Charles, by a variety of arguments, of the regret the king felt at having been obliged to accede to the objectionable articles of the treaty. To reconcile Charles to the measure, the cardinal, it is said, hinted that the treaty might possibly be of short endurance, and that the prince might afterward return to France with brighter prospects; but Charles returned very short and evasive answers, and the cardinal left Charles without having obtained any satisfaction. Desirous of avoiding extremities, the king waited about two weeks in expectation

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that Charles would depart; but being informed that he made no preparations for his departure, he sent the Duke de Gesvres, the governor of Paris, with a message similar to that delivered by the cardinal. Charles evaded a direct answer at this time by saying that he had been taken by surprise, and that he had not had sufficient time to consider the matter. The duke returned a second time after the lapse of a fortnight, and strongly urged upon Charles the necessity of compliance; but the prince refused, and told the duke that there was a treaty prior to that of Aix-la-Chapelle, between him and his most Christian Majesty, from which he could not depart with honour. The duke, who was probably not aware of the treaty of Fontainebleau, begged the prince to be more explicit; but Charles refused to give any explanation, and desired him to carry his answer to his master, who would understand its meaning.

By one of the articles of the definitive treaty it, was stipulated that Great Britain should, immediately after its ratification, send two persons of rank and distinction to reside in France as hostages, until restitution should be made to France of Cape Breton, and of all the other conquests which the British arms had achieved in the East or West Indies, before or after the preliminaries were signed. In terms of this article, the Earl of Sussex and Lord Cathcart were sent as hostages to Paris about this time. Charles, it is said, could not repress his indignation at the arrival of these noblemen, and was often heard to say publicly, that the tables were sadly turned upon poor old England, when her honour could not be relied upon without such pledges as were scarce ever granted but by a conquered nation, whilst the bare promise of France was held sufficient for the performance of her part of the treaty. “Shameful concession, unworthy of a ministry not abandoned to all sense of honour

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and virtue; but if ever I mount the throne of my ancestors, Europe shall see me use my utmost endeavours to force France in her turn to send hostages into England." Such were the sentiments which Charles is said to have uttered on this occasion.

The British ministry had, for some time, been urging the French court to fulfil that part of the treaty which related to the expulsion of the prince from the French territories; and the hostages seeing him appear at all public places of amusement, complained of this circumstance as an insult to their sovereign, and an infringement of the treaty. Louis, therefore, sent the Duke de Gesvres a third time to Charles, on the sixth of November, to expostulate with him. The duke informed him that his master had received a most obliging letter from the States of Fribourg, in answer to his application for an asylum, and that they were ready to receive the prince into their territories, and pay him every mark of respect due to his birth; but Charles again evaded a direct answer to the duke's demand to quit France. After the duke's departure, however, Charles sent him an explicit answer in writing, in which he stated, that it was with much regret he found himself compelled, in defence of his own interest, to oppose the intentions of the king on this occasion, and that he had already apprised his Majesty of his design by a letter which he had written to M. de Puyzieux, as far back as the twentieth of August. He requested the duke, in conclusion, to assure his most Christian Majesty in the strongest terms, that he would retain towards him, during his life, all the sentiments of respect and attachment which he had formerly expressed.

Louis was much annoyed at Charles's obstinacy, as he felt great repugnance to push matters to extremities with a prince who could plead in his own justification



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a violation of a solemn contract which the King of France had entered into with Charles three years before. As he had, however, contracted with Charles merely in his character of prince regent, it appears to have occurred to Louis that he would save his honour if he obtained an order from the Chevalier de St. George, requiring Charles to leave his dominions before having recourse to physical force. He, therefore, despatched a courier to Rome with a letter to the Chevalier, giving an account of the prince's conduct, and requesting James to interpose his parental authority, to induce Charles to leave his dominions. That James might be fully assured of the prince's determination to remain in France contrary to his wishes, Louis also sent him Charles's letter to the Duke de Gesvres.

The messenger returned to Paris early in December with a letter from James to the King of France, enclosing another to Charles under a flying seal, which, after perusing, he was requested to despatch to the prince. In the letter addressed to Charles, his father informed him that although he had taken care to conceal from him everything which had passed between the court of France and him since the signing of the preliminaries, he had nevertheless been made acquainted with everything. He stated that he had not been able to read his letter to the Duke de Gesvres without real surprise and sorrow, as neither he nor any other person could have imagined that he would remain in France in spite of the king; that his resistance, therefore, to the intentions of the king by staying in France, whilst he spoke of his regret at being compelled by his interests to act as he had done, showed clearly that he did not act upon his own opinion and wishes, but that he was following those of others; that he did not know who these persons were, but they could not be really his true friends in giving him such



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advice, for it was evident that in resisting the designs of his most Christian Majesty on this occasion, that resistance could have no other effect than in destroying that kindly feeling which existed between him and the King of France, and of justly drawing down the anger and indignation of his Majesty, and that certainly no wise and reasonable person would advise him, in the state in which he now was, to break with a power which had made itself respected by all Europe. After complaining of Charles's conduct towards himself, James told him, in continuation, that he saw him on the brink of a precipice, and that he would act the part of an unnatural parent, if he did not do everything that depended upon him to save him from falling, and that he, therefore, found himself obliged to order him, as his father and king, to conform himself, without delay, to the wishes of his most Christian Majesty, by leaving his dominions with a good grace.

This letter was sent by Louis to the Duke de Gesvres, who, after taking a copy of it, sent the original to Charles, and thereafter waited upon him to know his determination. The duke carried a letter from Louis, which is said to have contained a blank order to be filled up by the prince himself for a yearly allowance. Charles read the letter twice over, and, after a short pause, told the duke that he wanted no pecuniary favours from his Majesty, and that it was not consistent with honour to comply with his demand to leave the French territories. The duke urging him to reconsider his resolution, Charles grew impatient, and told the duke, that though he should treat with respect the representative of the king, yet he would in future decline receiving any communications from any person but the king himself. The duke replied, that as his Royal Highness had given over going to court, the thing was impossible, unless indeed he expected,

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what he could scarcely suppose he did, that his Majesty was to come to the Quai de Theatin in person. "Enfin donc, Monsieur le Duc," said Charles, "Je ne plus rien a dire que ce que j'ai deja dit — pardonnez moi, j'ai quelque affair." With these words, Charles left the room, leaving the duke in amazement.

From the publicity given by both parties to these extraordinary proceedings, they became the topic of general conversation at the different European courts, and from their continuance, the attention of the Parisians was wholly absorbed by them. Long before the French public were aware of the intentions of their government in relation to the prince, the fame of his exploits, in connection with the fact of his being a descendant of Henri Quatre, — a circumstance, till lately, of unspeakable value in the eyes of every Frenchman, — had endeared him to the French nation; but when they found that he was to be sacrificed by their sovereign to state necessity, their admiration for his person was heightened into enthusiasm, and they looked upon the approaching struggle between Louis and his kinsman with feelings of the deepest interest. Every person was desirous to see a prince who had the courage to brave the grand monarch in his own capital, and whenever Charles appeared upon the public walks, he was followed by the assembled multitudes. When he entered the theatre, all eyes were directed towards him, and the performance was allowed to pass off unheeded by the audience. Charles alone seemed to make light of his misfortunes, and evinced the gaiety of his spirits by talking in an easy, cheerful, and affable manner to the young noblemen by whom, on these occasions, he was always surrounded.

After trying every possible means to induce Charles to quit the French territory without effect, the ministry

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pressed the king to arrest him, and send him by force out of the kingdom. Louis was naturally averse to such a strong proceeding; but as he saw he could not fulfil the stipulation of the treaty, regarding the exiled family, in any other way, he reluctantly signed an order for his arrest. When putting his name to the warrant, he felt the extreme delicacy of the act, and pathetically exclaimed "Pauvre Prince! qu'il est difficile pour un roi d'être un véritable ami!" This order, which was signed at three o'clock in the afternoon, was blazed all over Paris before evening. One of the prince's retinue, who heard the intelligence, brought it to him; but Charles would not believe it. About this time, four of the gentlemen of his household left him, either instigated by the ministry, or to avoid the imputation in his father's letter, that in resisting the wishes of the King of France, he was acting under bad counsellors. Though no official notice was sent to Charles of the order, yet it is understood that means were taken to apprise him of his situation; and on the morning of the tenth of December, while walking in the Tuileries, he was informed by a person of distinction that he would certainly be seized that very day if he did not prevent it by an immediate departure; but, instead of taking the hint thus kindly given him, he seemed to treat the intelligence as chimerical, and turning to one of his followers, gave directions that a box should be hired for him that night at the opera house.

To carry the warrant into effect, no less than twelve hundred of the guards were in the course of the day drawn out, and posted in the court of the Palais Royal. A great number of sergeants and grenadiers in cuirasses and helmets filled the passages of the opera house; and the *guet* (police) were placed in all the streets leading to it, to stop any carriages that might attempt to pass.

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Six sergeants of the grenadiers who were considered the most intrepid were ordered to seize the prince. Two companies of grenadiers took post in the courtyard of the kitchens, where the Duke de Biron, colonel of the French guards, disguised, waited in a coach to see the issue of the enterprise. The Mousquetaires, a body of French horse-guards, had orders to be ready to mount on horseback. Troops were posted upon the road from the Palais Royal to Vincennes; hatchets and scaling-ladders were prepared, and locksmiths directed to attend, in order to take the prince by escalade, in case he should throw himself into some house, and there attempt to stand out a siege. A physician named Vernage, and three surgeons, were also ordered to be in readiness to dress such of the troops as might be wounded. These extensive preparations can only be accounted for on the supposition that the government was apprehensive that an attempt would be made by the Parisians to rescue the prince.

Charles received several notes during the day, from certain friends, giving him notice of the measures taken for securing him; but, disregarding their advice, he resolved to brave the danger. He accordingly left his hotel, in his carriage, accompanied by three gentlemen of his household, at a quarter after five o'clock, for the opera house, and, in passing through the street St. Honoré, was warned by a friendly voice not to proceed, as the opera house was beset. He proceeded onwards, however, and on entering the *cul-de-sac* leading to the opera house, the barriers were drawn, and the doors of the opera house shut. On alighting from his coach he was instantly surrounded by the six sergeants, disguised as tradesmen, who seized his person, and, lifting him off the ground, carried him through the *porte cochère* at the end of the passage which led into the courtyard

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of the Palais Royal. M. de Vaudreuil, major of the blue guards, who, with some officers, had remained behind the gate, then approached his Royal Highness, and said, "Monseigneur, I arrest you in the name of the king, my master." Charles, without betraying any emotion, answered that the manner was a little too violent. The sergeants, thereupon, carried him into a room on the ground floor of the palace, possessed by a surgeon of the Duke of Orleans's household. The major demanding his arms, Charles presented his sword, but suspecting that he had other weapons about him, the sergeants, by De Vaudreuil's order, searched his person, and found a pair of pocket-pistols, and a penknife, of which they took possession. Charles remarked that he had carried a pair of pistols about with him ever since he returned from Scotland. The major had provided himself with thirty-six ells of black silk ribbon with which to tie the prince, and on hearing him give directions to that effect, Charles offered his parole that he would hurt neither himself nor any other person, and added, that he thought so many persons were quite sufficient to guard one unarmed man without resorting to such a step. The major then went to the Duke de Biron to report, and on returning repeated his orders to bind the prince. Charles was accordingly tied in five different places. His arms were pinioned close to his body, and his hands tied behind his back. The ribbon was then drawn round his waist, and round his arms and legs, so as to prevent him even from walking. In this situation he was put into a hired coach, attended by the major and two captains of the blue guards, and was driven, under a strong guard, to the castle of Vincennes, into which he was received by M. de Chatelet, the governor. He was then, in terms of orders which the governor had received, thrust into an upper apartment in the Tower,

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fifty-four steps high, and about seven feet wide and eight feet long. The only person who was allowed to relieve the solitariness of his confinement was Neil Mac Eachan, who had attended him in his perilous journey from Uist to Skye. Charles had borne the indignity offered him with great composure, the disgrace attending which, he told M. de Vaudreuil, could only affect his master; but, after Charles found himself shut up in the dungeon of the castle, his feelings were overcome, and he is said to have clasped his hands together and to have burst into tears. "Ah! my faithful mountaineers," he pathetically exclaimed, "from *you* I never would have received such treatment. Would to God I were still among you!" Meanwhile the three gentlemen who had attended Charles to the opera were also seized, and five others, who were by chance at his house, and all his servants were sent to the Bastille. His hotel was taken possession of by the lieutenant of police, who remained in it from six o'clock at night till three next morning, during which he put the broad seal on his effects. Next day all the prince's French servants were released.

The arrest of the prince created an extraordinary sensation in Paris, and next morning all the public places of the city were covered with pasquinades, which had been put up during the night, reflecting, in very severe terms, upon the conduct of the king and his ministers, for their treatment of the prince. One of these was in the form of an order from King George, directed to Louis of Bourbon, as his viceroy, commanding and requiring him to seize, and, if necessary, to tie the person of Charles Edward Stuart, and to conduct him out of the kingdom of France; and that, if Louis should continue to please his master as he had hitherto done, he should be continued, by the King of England,

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in the viceroyalty of his kingdom of France. These placards were exceedingly annoying to the French court, and were torn down by the police with as great expedition as possible.

Charles was kept in close confinement till the fourteenth, on which day, in consequence of a correspondence which had passed between him and the king on that and the previous day, he was allowed to walk a few hours in the gardens. Having tendered his parole to leave the French territories without guards, Charles was released at seven o'clock in the morning of Sunday, the fifteenth of December, and departed for Fontainebleau, in a coach, under the charge of a commandant of musketeers; and Messrs. Stafford and Sheridan, two gentlemen of his household, who had been set at liberty, followed him in two post-chaises. The remainder of Charles's domestics were released a few days afterward. On reaching Fontainebleau, Charles despatched a facetious note to a M. de Boile at Paris, requesting him to inform his friends that he carried himself well; that his head had never been off his shoulders, and that it was still upon them. From Fontainebleau Charles proceeded, by easy stages, to Avignon, where he arrived on the morning of the twenty-seventh of December, disguised in the uniform of a French officer of musketeers. He had received a letter from his father on the road, and four days after his arrival he despatched an answer acquainting him thereof, and that he was "in perfect good health, notwithstanding the unheard-of barbarous and inhuman treatment" he had met with.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE LAST OF THE STUARTS

THE city of Avignon, in Provence, which Charles selected for his place of abode, did not at this time form a part of the French dominions, but belonged to the Pope. On the death of George I the Chevalier de St. George had taken up his residence in this city, that he might the better be enabled to correspond with his friends in England; but he was soon obliged to retire across the Alps, in consequence, it is understood, of an application from the British government to the court of Rome. To expel the Stuarts from the French territories, whilst, by a sort of geographical subtlety, they were allowed to reside almost in the heart of France, was certainly an absurdity, and had Charles remained for any length of time at Avignon, it is probable that, as in the case of his father, he would have been soon forced to look out for another asylum; but, to the astonishment of all Europe, he left Avignon incognito, after a residence of about two months, and went whither nobody could tell.

Attended only by Colonel Goring, Charles left Avignon in a travelling chaise, followed by his valet and two servants, out of livery, on horseback, and proceeded on the road to Lyons. The prince and Goring passed for French officers, who, on the conclusion of the peace, had obtained leave to visit their friends; and, to guard still farther against being recognized, they ordered the postilion to stop for refreshments only at the most



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obscure houses. Charles took the name of the Count d'Espoir. What his motives were for taking this step have not been ascertained; but it is probable that one of his objects was an interview with the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, with whose daughter, the Princess Charlotte Louisa, he contemplated a matrimonial alliance.

At a small village about two leagues from Lyons, Charles was recognized by the Marquis de Valere; but having informed him that he was travelling incognito, the marquis addressed him by his assumed name. After passing through Lyons, Charles dismissed his valet and the other servants with the chaise, and hired another in which he and his companion proceeded to Strasbourg. From Strasbourg it is supposed that Charles went to Paris, as it is quite certain that he visited that capital in the month of May, from which he addressed an anonymous letter to some official personage in Germany, who appears to have taken an interest in his adherents, wishing to know if the emperor or the queen of Hungary would afford an exiled prince, who had been unworthily abandoned by his friends, an asylum in their states. The person to whom this letter was sent was directed to address his answer to Mr. John Douglas, care of Mr. Waters, junior, banker in Paris. To conceal his movements from his own friends, Charles either omitted in his letters the name of the place where they were written, or dated them from a place where he was not at the time. While at Paris, he wrote a letter to a gentleman of the name of Bulkeley, which he dated from Venice, and eight days thereafter he sent him another letter referring him to the former. In this last letter he stated that a report had been spread that he intended to take up his residence in Bologna; but he says that this "was but a blind," and that no part of the Pope's dominions should ever see his face.

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Of Charles's wanderings, during the several years that he continued to roam on the continent, no satisfactory account has yet appeared; but recent researches have thrown some light on this obscure part of his history. Secretary Edgar, who corresponded frequently with "the dear wild man," as he jocularly styled Charles, considered the prince's incognito as one of the most extraordinary circumstances that had ever occurred, so great was the secrecy with which it was, for several years, preserved.

After his departure from Paris, the first trace that can be discovered of him is in September, 1750, when he visited London. His object in coming over appears to have been to establish a regular correspondence with his friends in England; to ascertain the probability of a rising in his favour; and to fix with them upon a proper place for landing arms, etc. Before his departure he applied to his father for a renewal of his powers as regent, which James reluctantly granted. If he found matters in a favourable train, he intended to have issued a declaration in which he was to offer to refer the funds to a free Parliament, and to encourage the army to join him, he was to show the nullity of the oaths they had taken to the "Elector." Charles arrived in London in the month of September, and went immediately to the house of Lady Primrose. Her ladyship sent a note to Doctor King, a zealous Jacobite, desiring to see him immediately. On the doctor's entering the house, Lady Primrose led him into her dressing-room, and presented him to the prince. Doctor King was surprised at seeing him, and still more astonished when informed of the motives which had induced him to hazard a journey to England at such a juncture. According to Doctor King, whose statement is fully supported by documents among the Stuart papers, the impatience

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of the prince's friends who were in exile had formed a scheme which was impracticable; but although it had been as feasible as they had represented it to him, yet no preparation had been made to carry it into execution. Charles was soon convinced that he had been deceived, and, after a stay in London of five days only, returned to the continent.

As Charles studiously concealed from his father all his designs and movements, the latter was entirely ignorant of his contemplated marriage with the daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt. The Chevalier had suggested, in 1747, a marriage with one of the Duke of Modena's daughters, from which family his mother had sprung; but Charles appears not to have relished the proposed match. He now urged upon him the necessity of marrying, so as to secure the succession of the family. James observed that he could not think the prince so selfish as to consider himself only in all he did and suffered; that the happiness of his country must undoubtedly be his motive, and, consequently, that he could never mean to restrict that happiness to his own life only, but endeavour to perpetuate it by a succession of lawful kings, who would have no other interest but that of their country; that his giving lawful heirs to the crown would not only be a constant security to his own person, but that it would make him more considered and respected abroad, and would undoubtedly give new life and vigour to the cause, as his friends could never feel the same zeal as long as their hopes were centred in him alone; that, had he adopted the views which had been formerly given him, he would have been probably ere now the father of a family, with a wife whom it would not have been beneath him to have married had he been even in England; that it was, however, useless to look backwards; but he (the Cheva-

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lier) saw, with the greatest concern, that Charles had put himself in a situation and way of living, which, as long as it lasted, rendered his marrying anybody absolutely impracticable. After informing Charles that he could have no other view in advising him as he did but his real good and advantage, James told him that he could almost say that he would rather see him married to a private gentlewoman than that he should not be married at all; and, therefore, he earnestly recommended to him to think seriously on the matter, and as he could not hope to make a marriage suitable to himself, to endeavour to make one that might be at least as little unequal as possible; for he could only exhort him in general, since he could not think of any particular person to propose, who might be suitable and at the same time willing to marry him.

Though he could not but feel disappointed at the result of his journey to England, Charles did not despond, and he now resolved to sound the dispositions of the courts of Berlin and Stockholm. As Lord Marischal had resided about three years in Berlin, and was, through the interest of Field-Marshal Keith, his brother, on the best footing with his Prussian Majesty, it occurred to Charles that, by availing himself of the services of that nobleman, whom he looked upon as "an honest man," Frederick might be induced to espouse his cause. Accordingly he despatched Colonel Goring to Berlin, in June, 1751, with a letter to Lord Marischal. After consulting with his lordship, Goring was directed to proceed to Sweden. Of this mission nothing farther is known. An interview which took place between Lord Marischal and Goring, and another probably with the prince himself, at Paris, in September following, are involved in the same obscurity. About this time Charles received notice that one Grosert, collector of

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the customs at Alloa, had left Scotland with an intention to assassinate him. This information was brought to France by Robertson of Blairfetty, who had been in Scotland. Grosert is said to have been married to a German woman, the daughter of the milliner of George the First.

No trace can be discovered of Charles's wanderings, after his return from London, till the fifth of April, 1752, when he was seen by a gentleman of the name of Mackintosh, at Campvere, in the island of Middleburg, where he remained four days. He is said to have revisited London in the course of the following year, and to have formally renounced the Catholic religion, in a chapel in Gray's Inn Lane, under his own name of Charles Edward Stuart; but this statement does not rest on sufficient authority. Doctor King, who corresponded with Charles for several years, makes no allusion to this visit, nor is there the least trace of it to be found among the Stuart archives. The story of a third visit, on occasion of the coronation of George III, at which Charles is said to have attended, rests on no better foundation. As to his reported change of religion, a rumour was generally prevalent, in 1752, a year before the date of his alleged recantation at London, that Charles had become a Protestant; but its accuracy was doubted of by some of his friends. It is certain, however, that Charles was not disposed to imitate the self-denial of his father and grandfather, who preferred their faith to a crown.

In consequence of the state of comparative security which the British government enjoyed after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, it became less vigilant than before in watching the motions of the exiled adherents of the house of Stuart. Some of them accordingly ventured, from time to time, to revisit their native country and

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friends. Amongst others, Doctor Cameron came over in 1749; but his visit was attended with a circumstance highly injurious to his character, which has hitherto been deemed unimpeachable. The doctor had been privy to the concealment of a large sum of money which had been left by Charles in charge of Macpherson of Cluny when he left Scotland, and the object of Cameron's journey appears to have been to secure and appropriate for his own use a part of this money. He accordingly visited Cluny in his retreat, who, finding it impossible to resist his demand, allowed him to carry off six thousand louis-d'ors, for which he, however, took his receipt. He made a second journey to Britain in 1753, probably with the same object, but fell a victim to his rapacity. Having been apprehended, he was carried to London, confined to the Tower, and his identity being proved in the court of king's bench by several witnesses, he received sentence of death, and was executed at Tyburn. He conducted himself with manly fortitude and decorum, and his fate was generally pitied. Some of the best wishers to the government thought the sacrifice of this unfortunate gentleman was a most unnecessary and wanton act at such a juncture, and at such a distance of time from the period of his attainder.

Down to 1754, Charles kept up a regular communication with his friends in England, several of whom visited him personally, and though they saw many reprehensible things in his conduct, yet they were willing to make every allowance for the peculiarities of his situation. There was one circumstance, however, which they could not overlook. When in Scotland, Charles had a mistress named Clementina Walkinshaw. Some years after he was sent out of France, he sent for this woman; and such was the ascendancy she obtained over him, that

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she became acquainted with all his plans, and was trusted with his most secret correspondence. As Miss Walkinshaw had a sister who acted as housekeeper at Leicester house, all the persons of distinction in England, attached to Charles, grew alarmed, being apprehensive that this paramour had been placed in his family by the English ministers. They, therefore, despatched a gentleman, named M'Namara, to Paris, where Charles then was, with instructions to insist upon Miss Walkinshaw's removal for a certain time from his presence. Mr. M'Namara, who was a man of excellent understanding, urged the most powerful reasons, and used all the arts of persuasion to induce him to comply, but to no purpose. M'Namara then informed him that an immediate interruption of all correspondence with his most powerful friends in England, and the ruin of his interest, which was now daily increasing, would be the certain consequence of his refusal; but Charles was inflexible. M'Namara stayed some days in Paris beyond the time prescribed, in hopes of ultimately prevailing; but all his entreaties and remonstrances were ineffectual. At parting, M'Namara could not help exclaiming, with great indignation: "What has your family done, Sir, thus to draw down the vengeance of Heaven on every branch of it, through so many ages?" During his conferences with M'Namara, the prince declared that he had no violent passion, or indeed any particular regard for Miss Walkinshaw, and that he could see her removed from him without any concern; but that he would not receive directions for the regulation of his private conduct from any man alive. When M'Namara returned to London and reported Charles's answer to the gentlemen who had sent him to Paris, many of whom were persons of the first rank, and all of them men of fortune and distinction, they were amazed and con-



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founded, and they resolved at once to break with him.

Lord Marischal was then residing at Paris as ambassador from the King of Prussia to the court of Versailles, and was apprised by M'Namara of everything that passed between him and the prince. Had M'Namara's mission been successful, his lordship, whose services Charles was anxious to obtain, meant, on the expiration of his embassy, to have entered Charles's household; but disgusted with the conduct of the prince, who even had the ingratitude to threaten to publish the names of his English friends, he declined to take any farther interest in his affairs, and embracing the mediation of the King of Prussia, reconciled himself to the British government.

Charles's friends, however, did not altogether abandon him; and when, in the following year, a war with France seemed inevitable, they resolved to make another generous effort to reclaim him. For this purpose, they sent two gentlemen to hold a conference with him. At meeting, they assured him, in the first place, that his friends had his interest, honour, and well-being fully as much at heart as his own, and that they would go every reasonable length to make his life comfortable, till a better order of things should occur; but they hoped, at the same time, that he would listen to their counsel, both in relation to his own life and safety, and theirs. They next stated that they were enjoined to assure him in the most positive terms, that he had been for some time eyed; that his movements in a family way had been, and would continue to be, infallible marks to trace him, to avoid which they most earnestly entreated him to remove directly from his present residence and in so private a manner that only a few faithful friends could know



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it, as that was the only way to escape the notice of many who were employed expressly to observe his motions and conduct; that if he granted this request, they would consider his doing so as a happy omen to their future hopes; but if, on the contrary, he continued to oppose his own single opinion against the deliberate observations and reflections of his best friends, that it would occasion many very melancholy reflections, and would but too much confirm the impudent and villainous aspersions of Mr. D——, which had already gained such ground with many persons, that nothing but his own future conduct could possibly remove them, for without convincing proofs of that kind, all that he himself, or his best friends could say in his favour, would be of very small weight; that in the event of his listening to such a reasonable proposal, his friends would do everything in their power for his comfort and satisfaction, and that they would send over some person to attend him, whose sufficiency, honour, and integrity, might be depended upon; that a gentleman, whom they named, had long offered to attend him, and for that purpose was to have sold a large landed estate, and brought the price with him; but that reports of the manner in which the prince had for some time lived had cooled that gentleman's zeal, and made him hesitate; that it was no wonder the zeal of his friends should abate, when it was represented to them that the prince had abandoned himself to an irregular and debauched life, and to an excess which brought his health and even his life daily in danger; that in these excesses he was represented as having no guard either on his conduct or his expressions, and was in some degree void of reason; that he was also too precipitate in his resolutions, and was then obstinate and deaf to the most solid advice; that he put no value upon,

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and was ungrateful for, the very best services, and was unforgiving and revengeful for the smallest offence; that he acted and spoke, upon all occasions, with an obstinacy that could bear no control, and, in all appearance, without any just thought or reflection; that, in a word, he had in his single person all the vices and faults that had ever been in his family, without one of their virtues, and was of course entirely unqualified to act the part that had been hoped for at his hands; that the person who gave this information appealed at the same time to the judgment of the worthy gentlemen to whom he told it, what was to be expected from such a person, had he power in his hands, when he could so act when he had none, and whether the benevolent character was to be hoped for from a man who seemed to act the tyrant even in private life; that their informant begged they would lay their hands on their hearts, and consider coolly if the lasting happiness of their families, and the prosperity of their country, was not greatly to be preferred to their affection and attachment to any particular person or family; that if these great blessings were obtained, it was no matter to them or to the nation by whose hand they came; that, therefore, if a change must be in order to obtain them, some better qualified behoved to be found out, and all thoughts of him laid for ever aside.

The deputation then said that their informant had affirmed positively that he had Mr. Goring's authority for everything he had said; that the prince's friends were certain that this mortifying heavy charge was without much foundation; but that they were likewise as certain that Mr. Goring having been long an eye-witness to his conduct, and one in whom he had placed confidence, very fatal and deep impressions would be made upon the minds of many, which nothing but his

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own prudent, steady, firm conduct, and circumspect behaviour for the future could possibly remove; that if not too late, they were certain the prince was blessed with great natural parts, with a quickness and penetration above most men, were they properly balanced; that these qualities were very valuable in any man, but still more so in youth if properly used; but that it was against the nature of things for youth to have the prudence and experience of age; that it was no sign of wisdom to act entirely without counsel; but that true wisdom was only to be discovered by a right choice of counsellors, and then acting steadily by their advice; that even persons of the greatest experience and sagacity often needed advice, and that none could be reckoned truly wise, even in private affairs, who did not sometimes consult with, and put confidence in some solid friends. But how much more ought it to be done in matters which concerned kingdoms and nations, even all Europe, and perhaps the whole world. They observed that the times appeared critical; that although war was evidently neither the interest nor inclination of England and France, yet sooner or later, and perhaps ere long, it would ensue; that trade was the question; that the command of the seas and the command of trade were inseparable, and that both nations viewed the question in that light; that pride, interest, and the desire of power combined to prompt each nation to wish earnestly for the uppermost, in so much that it was the opinion of the most reflecting part of the world, that the game of Rome and Carthage would have to be played, and that the one or other must have dominion; that were, therefore, Britain headed by one who had no separate interest from the nation, the question to which side dominion would fall might be easily determined, and that most people of the best understanding in England

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were of that opinion; so that the chief point was to convince them that there was a valuable personage on whom their interest and happiness depended, whose only interest and true happiness was unalterably connected with theirs, and who was willing and ready to sacrifice some part of his own happiness and satisfaction, in order to contribute to theirs.

A severer commentary on the conduct of Charles could scarcely have been delivered. It is not known what reception the deputation met with, or how this message was received by him; but, at his desire, the gentlemen committed it to writing, and sent the manuscript to him. Charles returned a written answer to this message, worded in a style which showed how keenly he felt the reproaches which had been cast upon him. He informed his "friends" that he had received a very surprising message, delivered in a still more surprising manner; that reason might, and he hoped should, always prevail with him; but his own heart deceived him, if threats or promises ever would; that he had almost determined to wait events in silence or patience, and believed that the advances which they knew he had already made on his part were as great as could reasonably be expected; yet that the influence of well wishers, of whose sincerity he was satisfied, had made him put pen to paper in vindication of his character, which he understood from them some unworthy people had had the insolence to attack, very possibly to serve some mean purposes of their own; that he despised their malice, and considered it below his dignity to treat them in the terms they deserved; that he was willing to bring truth to light; that he had long desired a churchman from his friends to attend him; but that his expectations had been hitherto disappointed. From the tenor of this communication, Charles's friends perceived that

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it was in vain to contend any longer with him, and they, therefore, finally abandoned him to his unfortunate fate.

Though Charles at first affected not to feel the indignity offered to him by the French government, yet it is certain that it left an indelible impression on his mind, soured his disposition, and quite unhinged his deliberative faculties. During his long incognito, he scarcely ever corresponded with his afflicted father, — a silence which he said was not owing either to neglect or want of duty, but because his situation was such that he could do nothing but vent “imprecations against the fatality of being born in such a detestable age.” Led away by his passions, he would suffer no control; and so infatuated did he become, that in resisting the admonitions of his friends, he thought he was pursuing a course honourable to himself, and dutiful towards “the honest man,” — his father; but James was not to be misled by such false notions, and hinted that, though he was happy to find Charles in such sentiments, yet that it was possible that what he might think for the best, might be otherwise. “Do you,” he asks the prince, “rightly understand the extensive sense of honour and duty, from which you say you will never go astray? If you can,” he continues, “keep up to that rule, you will then be really an honest man, which is the new name you give me, and with which I am much pleased, since it is a title I value more than all those which vanity can desire, or flattery invent. It is a title we are all obliged to pretend to, and which we may all, without vanity, think we deserve, and unless we deserve it, we, in reality, can neither be happy in the next world, nor even in this, because peace and tranquillity of mind is only the share of honest men. The best wish I can therefore make you, is that you

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may yourself long deserve and enjoy that title: it would be the most effectual means of drawing down God's blessing upon you."

After the estrangement of his friends, Charles gave up all thoughts of a restoration, and resided chiefly at Avignon till the death of his father, in December, 1766, when he returned to Italy. The Chevalier had, for several years, been in a declining state of health, and, for two years before his death, had been confined to his bedchamber. His remains were carried to the church of the parish where he had resided, and were decorated with all the insignia of royalty. The body was attired in royal robes, a crown put upon his head, a sceptre in his hand, and upon his breast the arms of Great Britain, etc., in gold and jewels. Above the bed of state on which the body lay was a throne suspended from the ceiling, on the top of which were the figures of four angels holding the crown and sceptre, and at each corner the figure of death. Over the bed was this inscription: "*Jacobus Magnæ Britanniae Rex, Anno MDCCCLXVI,*" with medallions in front, representing the different orders of chivalry in Great Britain; the crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to which were attached the royal insignia, viz., the purple robe lined with ermine; the velvet tunic ornamented with gold; the globe, the crown, the sceptre, the crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, etc. Four large pieces of drapery of purple silk were suspended from the canopy; and on the drapery, at the distance of every six inches, was a row of gold lace lined with white fringe. The drapery was parted and hung to the capitals of four columns on each side of the church, and these columns were covered with black cloth enriched with ornaments of gold. In the church was a number of chandeliers with skeletons holding wax tapers. The body lay in

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state three days, during which, none but the Italian princes and British subjects were admitted into the church. The corpse was then removed in procession to St. Peter's Church to be interred. The children of the charity schools led the procession, and were followed by certain companies sent by the chief churches, amounting to six hundred men, divided into twelve sections, all attired in antique and different dresses with tapers, and about one thousand friars of different orders with torches; the singing boys of St. Peter's dressed in purple silk gowns, and about fifty canons all singing hymns. Round the bed of state on which the body was carried were the professors and students of the English college, with four cardinals upon mules, covered with purple velvet trappings. The Chevalier's servants, in twelve coaches, lined with black velvet, formed the rear of the procession.

By his will, the Chevalier left his real estate, which yielded about forty thousand crowns per annum, exclusive of pensions, to Prince Charles. He also left him a box of jewels belonging to the crown of Poland, formerly pledged to the Sobieski family, if not redeemed. The jewels belonging to his own family he directed to be divided between Charles and Henry.

From the state of comparative seclusion in which the Chevalier passed the most part of his life, his personal history is less known than either that of his father, or his son, Charles Edward. His character, to judge from his correspondence, and the many acts of individual kindness he showed towards his exiled adherents, was benevolent and estimable. He seems to have been better acquainted with the principles of the English constitution than any of his race, and would, had he been called to empire, have probably eschewed the dangerous rock of the prerogative, on which his grand-



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father and father split. His boast was not merely that he was an Englishman, but that, to use an Italian phrase, there was not "a greater Englishman than himself."

After his father's death, Prince Charles retired to Albano, where he lived in great seclusion till the year 1772, when the court of Versailles, desirous for its own selfish purposes to prevent the male line of the house of Stuart from becoming extinct, negotiated a marriage between him and the young princess, Louisa Maximiliana Carolina of Stolberg-Guederan, and the three branches of the house of Bourbon all concurring in the match, a suitable allowance was settled by them for the support of the prince and his wife. Charles, who, in consequence of the refusal of the court of Rome to recognize the titles which his father had assumed, had taken that of the Count of Albany, took up his residence, upon his marriage, in the neighbourhood of Florence, whither he was invited by the grand Duke of Tuscany. The marriage was unfortunate. Charles had lived too long single to enjoy connubial happiness; and his temper, soured by misfortune, unfitted him for the discharge of the domestic virtues. The consequence was that a separation speedily ensued, and whilst Charles remained near Florence, the princess returned to Rome, where she remained till the death of her husband, when she went to Paris, and was maintained by the court of France in a manner suitable to her rank.

Charles was seriously indisposed in 1784, but recovered. In January, 1788, he had a stroke of apoplexy, followed by palsy, under which he fell, after an illness of three weeks, on the thirty-first of that month, aged sixty-seven years and one month. The body was placed in a coffin of cypress wood along with the sceptre, crown, and sword, and all the other insignia of the royal house of Stuart. This coffin was enclosed in an-



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other of lead, bearing suitable inscriptions and devices. In this state the remains were carried from Rome to Frescati for interment, and were placed in the cathedral church of Frescati, of which see Cardinal York was bishop.

In the morning of the third of February, the funeral obsequies were celebrated in the cathedral. The church was hung with black cloth, drawn up between the pillars in the form of festoons intermixed with gold and silver tissue. The seams of the cloth were covered with gold lace. During the whole of the ceremony, a great number of wax tapers were kept burning in every part of the church. By order of the cardinal, texts from Ecclesiasticus xlvii. 17, Job xxix. 5, Tobit ii. 18, Proverbs v. 27, 2 Macab. vi. 31, with reference to the situation and fortunes of the deceased, were written on the festoons in large characters over the great door and the four principal side altars. A large catafalque was erected on a platform raised three steps from the floor, in the nave of the church. The coffin containing the body was placed on the catafalque, and was covered with a magnificent pall, on which were embroidered, in several places, the arms of England. On each side stood three gentlemen, belonging to the household of the deceased, in mourning cloaks, each holding a royal banner. Round the catafalque were a considerable number of large wax tapers in the form of a square, guarded by the militia of Frescati. The scene altogether was of a most solemn description.

The cardinal, carried in a sedan chair, covered with black cloth, and attended by a number of his officers and servants in deep mourning, was brought into the church about 10 o'clock A. M., when he seated himself on his throne on the gospel or right hand side of the great altar, and began to sing the office for the dead

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according to the Roman ritual. In this office he was assisted by the choir of the cathedral, which was numerous, and by some of the best voices from Rome. The cardinal had scarcely finished the first verse, when his voice faltered, and the tears trickled down his cheeks. For a short time he appeared as if unable to proceed; but he soon rallied, and went through the service. The magistrates of Frescati, and a large assemblage of the inhabitants of the diocese to whom the bishop was justly endeared, attended on the occasion.

The Princess of Stolberg-Guederan had no children to Charles, but he left a natural daughter by Miss Walkinshaw. He created her Duchess of Albany, and legitimated her by a deed which was recorded in the register of the Parliament of Paris on the sixth of September, 1787. With the exception of two thousand ounces of silver which he bequeathed to his brother, the cardinal, and a legacy of one hundred ducats to the Chevalier Stewart, his confidential secretary, Charles left the whole of his property to his daughter, burdened with annuities to his servants during their lives to the amount of their wages.

Although faction of all kinds has distorted the real lineaments of Charles's character, yet sufficient traces still remain to give the impartial observer some general idea of the true portrait. Whilst his partisans have painted him in the most glowing colours of admiration, as the paragon of all that is noble and high-minded, his enemies have represented him as a man devoid of any good and generous feeling; as despotic, revengeful, ungrateful, and avaricious; having, in short, all the vices without one of the redeeming virtues of his race. Paradoxical as the assertion may be, there is some truth in both delineations; but considerable abatements must be made from the exaggerated eulogies of the one party,

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as well as from the sweeping condemnation of the other. There were, in fact, as has been well observed, two Charles Edwards. The hero of 1745 was a generous and high-minded youth, who, notwithstanding some constitutional defects, merited a better destiny; but the Charles Edward of a subsequent period was a degraded man, who, dispirited by misfortune, and soured by disappointment, lost all command over himself, and became the sport of the passions. He retained, however, to the close of his existence, a vivid recollection of his early exploits, and he could not hear any allusion to Scotland and the Highlanders without betraying the greatest emotion.

After Charles's death, the cardinal, having no regard for worldly honours, wisely renounced all claim to the titles which his father had assumed; and George III, to mark his personal esteem for his Eminence, granted him a pension of £4,000 per annum, which was regularly paid up to the period of the cardinal's death, which happened in 1807. He died in his eighty-second year. The male line of the house of Stuart, which was virtually at an end, by the death of Prince Charles, now became entirely extinct. George IV, with a feeling which did him credit, honoured the cardinal and his two immediate predecessors with a monument.

That the continuity of the personal history of Charles Edward, from the period of his return to France till his death, might not be interrupted, the measures of the Legislature for preventing a recurrence of any fresh attempt to restore the house of Stuart have not hitherto been alluded to. These fall now to be noticed.

From a feeling of gratitude, and still more from a principle of duty, the Scottish Episcopalians were steady adherents of the Stuarts, and, ever since the period of the revolution, had done everything in their power

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to contribute to the restoration of the exiled family. King William attempted to gain over their bishops to his interests; but, unlike most of their brethren in England, who, like them, had warmly advocated the doctrines of non-resistance and passive obedience, they absolutely refused to take the oath of allegiance to him, on the ground that they had already sworn fealty to another sovereign. The result of this refusal was, that Episcopacy was abolished, and Presbytery again made the religion of the state. The Presbyterians now triumphed in their turn, and retaliated their past wrongs upon their prostrate adversaries. Nor did the government show any indisposition to act a more lenient part. The persecutions to which the adherents of the proscribed system were subjected, instead of weakening, tended to rivet their attachment still more strongly to the exiled family, and when Prince Charles descended into the Lowlands of Scotland, he was joined by a considerable number of the Episcopal sect.

As this party, though not numerous, was not less formidable, from its rank and wealth, as from the *esprit de corps* with which it was animated, the first attention of the Legislature was directed towards this body, and a strong measure was resorted to, which nothing could justify but necessity. This was an act by which it was ordained that any Episcopal clergymen officiating after the first day of September, 1746, without having previously taken the oaths of allegiance, abjuration, and assurance, or without praying once, during the performance of worship, for the king, his heirs, and successors, and for all the royal family, should, for the first offence, suffer six months' imprisonment; and, for the second, be transported to the American plantations for life; and, in case of returning from banishment, be subjected to perpetual imprisonment. It was also enacted

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that no proprietor of a closed Episcopal meeting-house should regain possession of it till he gave security for £100, that he would not again permit it to be occupied by a non-juring clergyman, namely, by one who had not taken the required oaths. To prevent an evasion of the act by assemblages in private houses, it was enacted, that every house in which five persons should meet, for the purpose of divine service, should be held a meeting-house within the meaning of the act. In order to strike at the very root of the Scottish Episcopal Church, it was also enacted, that no letters of orders should be registered after said first of September, except such as had been given by the Church of England or Ireland. In regard to the laity, the act declared that if after the first of September, 1746, any person should resort to an Episcopal meeting-house, not held according to law, and not give notice of such illegal meeting to a magistrate within five days thereafter, he should be subjected to fine and imprisonment. By another enactment it was declared that no peer of Scotland should be capable of being elected one of the representative peers, or of voting at such election; and that no person should be capable of being elected a member of Parliament for any shire or burgh, who should, within the compass of any future year, be twice present at divine service in an illegal Episcopal meeting-house in Scotland. This act was followed by another, passed in 1748, annulling, in effect, the orders of the Scottish Episcopal Church, by declaring that no letters of orders, not granted by a bishop of the Church of England or of Ireland, should be sufficient to qualify any Scottish Episcopalian minister, whether the same had been registered before or since, the first day of September, 1746; and that every such register, whether made before or since, should be null and void.

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These acts were not allowed to remain a dead letter, but were acted upon in several instances. The devoted Episcopalians bore their privations with becoming fortitude, by yielding to a necessity which they could not control; but they submitted only because they were unable to resist. The wisdom of these laws, abstracting from their injustice and severity, soon became apparent, by the decay of Jacobitism which ensued soon after their enactment.

In viewing the state of the Highlands, with reference to the previous insurrection, and the spirit which still actuated the Jacobite clans, the Legislature perceived that nothing short of a complete revolution in the habits and feelings of the people, and a dissolution of those ties of clanship which bound the Highlanders to their chiefs, could, in future, ensure the public tranquillity, or prevent other attempts from being made, from time to time, in favour of the house of Stuart. The danger, notwithstanding the suppression of the insurrection, was still too imminent to attempt effecting a change by the slow process of the social system; and therefore it became necessary to devise some more summary mode for its accomplishment. The disarming act, passed in the preceding reign, had not been attended with any beneficial effect, as the Highlanders had evaded it; but, as its necessity was evident, it was determined to revive it, with some additional clauses for securing its enforcement; and, as the first blow at clanship, it was resolved to prohibit the use of the Highland dress.

Accordingly, an act (20 Geo. II, c. 39) was passed, "for the more effectually disarming the Highlands in Scotland, and for the more effectually securing the peace of the Highlands, and for restraining the use of the Highland dress," etc.; by which it was enacted, that if

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any person, residing within the limits therein mentioned, should, from and after the first day of August, 1746, fail to deliver up any arms in his possession, after being called upon to do so, he should pay, upon conviction, £15; and, in case of non-payment, be committed to prison; that if payment was not made within one month, the prisoner was to be sent to serve as a soldier in his Majesty's forces in America, if able to serve, and if unable, to be imprisoned for six months, and then only to be liberated on finding security for his good behaviour for the next ten years. If the delinquent was a woman, she was to be fined and imprisoned, and failing payment, to be detained six months in prison. Transportation for seven years was the punishment for a second offence.

With reference to the Highland garb it was enacted, that from and after the first day of August, 1747, any person, whether man or boy, within Scotland (excepting officers and soldiers in his Majesty's service), who should, on any pretence whatsoever, wear or put on the clothes commonly called the Highland clothes, namely, the plaid, philibeg, trews, shoulder belts, or any part of the Highland garb, or should use, for great-coats, or for upper coats, tartans or parti-coloured plaid, or stuff, should be imprisoned, without bail, for six months; and, on being convicted for a second offence, should be liable to be transported to any of his Majesty's plantations abroad for seven years. The term for discontinuing the dress was extended, by a subsequent act, to the first of August, in the following year.

To the natural feelings of a high-minded and martial people like the Highlanders, no greater insult could have been offered than this call upon them to deliver up their arms; but the proscription of their dress was even more galling. "Even the loyal clans,"



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says Doctor Johnson, “murmured with an appearance of justice, that after having defended the king, they were forbidden to defend themselves, and that the swords should be forfeited which had been legally employed. It affords a generous and manly pleasure, to conceive a little nation gathering its fruits and tending its herds, with fearless confidence, though it is open on every side to invasion; where, in contempt of walls and trenches, every man sleeps securely with his sword beside him, and where all, on the first approach of hostility, come together at the call to battle, as the summons to a festival show, committing their cattle to the care of those whom age or nature had disabled, to engage the enemy; with that competition for hazard and glory which operate in men that fight under the eye of those whose dislike or kindness they have always considered as the greatest evil, or the greatest good. This was in the beginning of the present century. In the state of the Highlanders every man was a soldier, who partook of the national confidence, and interested himself in national honour. To lose this spirit, is to lose what no small advantage will compensate, when their pride has been crushed by the heavy hand of a vindictive conqueror, whose severities have been followed by laws, which, though they cannot be called cruel, have produced much discontent, because they operate on the surface of life, and make every eye bear witness to subjection. If the policy of the disarming act appears somewhat problematical, what must we think of the subsequent measure of 1747, to compel the Highlanders to lay aside their national dress. It is impossible to read this latter act without considering it rather as an ignorant wantonness of power, than the proceeding of a wise and a beneficent Legislature. To be compelled to wear a new dress has always been found painful.” General Stewart re-



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marks, that had the whole Highland race been decimated, more violent grief, indignation, and shame could not have been excited among them, than by being deprived of this long inherited costume.

It was not to be expected that an act, containing provisions so opposed to the feelings of the Highlanders, could be carried into effect without considerable difficulty. They could not offer, it is true, any direct resistance; but they might easily conceal their arms, and might occasionally evade the law relating to the garb, if allowed to retain it in their possession. To provide against such attempts, the persons to whom the execution of the act was committed, devised an oath by which all persons called before them were required to swear, that they neither had, nor should have, any arms in their possession, and should never use tartan, plaid, or any part of the Highland garb.<sup>4</sup> Grievous as it must have been to the feelings of a Highlander to be forced to dispense with his favourite tartan, his mind would have sooner been reconciled to the adoption of other stuffs, had he been allowed to retain the ancient form of his garb. The attempt, therefore, to evade the law, proceeded no less from the attachment of the Highlanders to their proscribed garb, than from the uncouthness to them, at least, of the dress forced upon them. "Habituated," says General Stewart, "to the free use of their limbs, the Highlanders could ill brook the confinement and restraint of the Lowland dress, and many were the little devices which they adopted to retain their ancient garb, without incurring the penalties of the act — devices which were calculated rather to excite a smile than to rouse the vengeance of persecution. Instead of the prohibited tartan kilt, some wore pieces of a blue, green, or red thin cloth, or coarse camblet, wrapped round the waist, and hanging down to

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the knees, like the *fealdag*.<sup>5</sup> The tight breeches were particularly obnoxious. Some, who were fearful of offending, or wished to render obedience to the law, which had not specified on what part of the body the breeches were to be worn, satisfied themselves with having in their possession this article of legal and loyal dress, which, either as the signal of their submission, or more probably to suit their own convenience when on journeys, they often suspended over their shoulders upon their sticks; others, who were either more wary, or less submissive, sewed up the centre of the kilt with a few stitches between the thighs, which gave it something of the form of the trousers worn by Dutch skip-pers. At first these evasions of the act were visited with considerable severity; but at length the officers of the law seem to have acquiesced in the interpretation put by the Highlanders upon the prohibition of the act. This appears from the trial of a man of the name of M'Alpin, or Drummond Macgregor from Breadalbane, who was acquitted, on his proving that the kilt had been stitched up in the middle."<sup>6</sup>

The law of 1746, for disarming the Highlanders and restraining the use of the Highland garb, was followed up the following year by one of a more radical and permanent description. This was the act for abolishing the heritable jurisdictions, which, though necessary in a rude state of society, were wholly incompatible with an advanced stage of civilization. By depriving the Highland chiefs of their judicial powers, it was thought that the sway which for centuries they had held over their people would be gradually impaired, and that, by investing certain judges, who were amenable to the Legislature for the proper discharge of their duties, with the civil and criminal jurisdiction enjoyed by the proprietors of the soil, the cause of good govern-

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ment would be promoted, and the facilities for repressing any attempts to disturb the public tranquillity increased.

By this act (20 Geo. II. c. 43) which was made to extend to the whole of Scotland, all heritable jurisdictions of justiciary, all regalities and heritable baileries and constabularies (excepting the office of high constable) and all stewartries, and sheriffships of smaller districts, which were only parts of counties, were dissolved, and the powers formerly vested in them were ordained to be exercised by such of the king's courts as these powers would have belonged to, if the jurisdictions had never been granted. All sheriffships and stewartries not dissolved by the statute, namely, those which comprehended whole counties, where they had been granted, either heritably or for life, were resumed and annexed to the Crown. With the exception of the hereditary justiciaryship of Scotland, which was transferred from the family of Argyle to the high court of justiciary, the other jurisdictions were ordained to be vested in sheriffs-depute or stewards-depute, to be appointed by the king, in every shire or stewartry not dissolved by the act. As by the twentieth article of the treaty of union, all heritable offices and jurisdictions were reserved to the grantees as rights of property, compensation was ordained to be made to the holders, the amount of which was afterward fixed by Parliament, in terms of an act of sederunt of the court of session, at £152,000.

These laws, however, would, probably, have had little effect upon the national character of the Highlanders, had not other causes, apart from legislation, concurred in effecting an entire change in their habits and feelings.



# SCOTLAND SINCE CULLODEN

BY OSCAR FAY ADAMS



## SCOTLAND SINCE CULLODEN

ALTHOUGH the union of the English and Scottish crowns was accomplished with the accession to the English throne of James the Sixth of Scotland, the age-long hostility between the two nations was by no means abated by this circumstance. Indeed it may be said to have increased in its intensity, especially on the northern side of the Border, and as a result of the massacre of Glencoe in 1692 and the animosity exhibited by the English Parliament toward the Scottish colony of Darien in the New World, the tide of popular feeling in Scotland ran high against England and found vehement expression in the Scottish Parliament. That excitable body in determined opposition to the English wish for union demanded free trade and the exercise of equal rights in the colonies, and when these demands were refused it passed the famous Act of Security in 1703, a measure which virtually excluded Queen Anne's successor from the Scottish throne and called for the compulsory military service of every Scotsman.

As might have been foreseen, the English Parliament immediately passed retaliatory acts and for a time the political situation remained critical. Finally, in the face of strong opposition, the Act of Union passed the Scottish Parliament in 1707. In its amended form the Act granted to Scotland forty-five representatives in the British House of Commons and sixteen in the House of Lords; gave Scotland free trade and the protection of her own laws and consolidated the debts of the two

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countries. But no Act of Union, however liberal its provisions, could in itself establish any great amount of good will between two nations who had been smiting each other at intervals for centuries. Scotland itself was sharply divided as to its population into Highlanders and Lowlanders, with differing speech, customs, and ideals, and it was hopeless to expect that harmony would spring up at once between such hereditary foes merely because political union had been effected. Nearly a half century had to elapse ere the two countries could really begin to draw near to each other. It was not till the second Jacobite rebellion with its sorrowful issue of Culloden had become a thing of the past that Scotland at length awoke to a realization of possibilities other than political ones, and ceased to bemoan what had gone before.

Scotland's political history ceased with the Act of Union by which it lost its national identity and became a part of Great Britain; its romantic history terminated with Culloden and the happenings immediately following that event; its domestic annals, using the phrase in its most comprehensive sense, may be said to have begun with the opening of the eighteenth century. It is with these annals, extending from about 1750 to the dawn of the twentieth century, that this chapter is concerned.

Until the middle of the eighteenth century Scotland had been almost entirely an agricultural region, but it then very shortly underwent a momentous transformation, becoming an industrial community instead of an agricultural one. This character was thenceforward increasingly manifest and this it largely retains to-day. In consequence of the Highlanders' participation in the Jacobite uprising in 1745 rigorous laws were soon enacted suppressing both Highland speech and High-



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land costume, and tribal ownership of land was prohibited. Common lands were then converted into deer parks and sheep walks, a practice which forced the clansmen either to emigrate or remain as tenants-at-will and subject to the most miserable conditions. Such conditions still exist in the Hebrides and other remote portions of Scotland, the Crofters' Act passed in 1880 having only partially amended them.

Although the Stuart cause was overthrown at Culloden, never again to lift its head, it survived its defeat in one respect, as has more than once been pointed out. It preserved its romantic aspect which the genius of poesy was quick to perceive, and the limitless devotion and self-sacrifice displayed by the Highland clans in behalf of the graceful but worthless Charles Edward lent its share of dignity to the lost cause, even in the estimation of many who had not the smallest love for the cause the Highlanders defended. Such romantic feeling found utterance in many and many a stirring Jacobite ballad and echoes enduringly in the pages of "Waverley."

However firmly a minority of Scotsmen remained passively attached to the Stuarts, the logic of events was now becomingly increasingly sterner, and as the eighteenth century entered upon its second half of existence even the most devoted friends of the Stuarts recognized that only a waning sentiment was left for them to indulge in in moments of retrospection. Conservative as the Scotsman is by nature he is yet very much averse to standing long in his own light, and he soon perceived where his real interests lay. The Highlander might nourish in secret his love for the Stuarts, but the Lowlander was much readier to accept the situation and acquiesce in the rule of the Hanoverian dynasty.

More than this, the great majority of the Scottish

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people were turning their attention to commercial and industrial pursuits. From being one of the poorer nations Scotland came to be, in comparison with its former condition, a wealthy country, a region where commerce and manufacture flourished and where the primitive agricultural methods of the past were superseded by enlightened cultivation of the soil. At the opening of the eighteenth century Glasgow contained a population of about ten thousand and as the century advanced its commerce increased. Bristol was then the great centre of the tobacco trade, but by 1760 it was outstripped by Glasgow in this respect, and a dozen years later Glasgow imported more than half of the tobacco which entered the United Kingdom. Glasgow citizens grew rich from the proceeds of the trade with Virginia and other colonies and built themselves handsome mansions commensurate with their rising fortunes in the outskirts of the town. But the tobacco trade received a severe setback at the outset of the American War and Glasgow townsmen then turned their attention to other branches of commerce, presently becoming interested in trade with the West Indies and the cultivation of sugar-cane. At the close of the war the tobacco trade revived somewhat, but the manufacture of cotton goods was undertaken about this time and soon became an interest of great importance. Calico printing had begun in 1742; glass making and brewing were already promising industries before 1750 and subsequently became of commercial significance.

At the end of the century the population of Glasgow was not far from eighty thousand, and very much of the civic prosperity is due to the deepening of the Clyde, begun in 1773 in a tentative fashion and continued, with the building of docks and quays, until the present time. In 1674 James Watt perfected his earliest model of a

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steam engine in his workshop in Glasgow, and ever since the application of steam to navigation the city has been one of the principal centres of such navigation. The *Comet*, built in 1812 for traffic on the Clyde, was the first steamboat in Scotland, and the building of steamships is now and has long been one of the chief industrial features of Glasgow. The river being the principal source of the city's prosperity, Glasgow's importance has increased in direct ratio to the improvement of the Clyde, and her industries include nearly every kind of manufacture known in Great Britain. Although Glasgow is the most important industrial centre of Scotland, other towns may be named which are more or less concerned with manufactures. Such are Aberdeen, Inverness, and Paisley, which with other places send out tweeds in great abundance. Carpets are made in Kilmarnock as well as tartans; shawls in Paisley; jute in Dundee; while Dunfermline is the principal seat of the manufacture of table linen. And these are but a few of the industries which have been the making of the Scotland of our time. Though nine-tenths of the cotton factories of Scotland are found in Glasgow, Paisley and near-by towns, yet such factories are to be seen in very many other quarters, and the national beverage is the product of countless distilleries, large and small.

Add to these features of the national life the products of the fisheries, of the coal and iron mines, with the manufactured output of the iron mills, the products of the numerous quarries of granite and other stones, and it will easily be seen how completely the dominant character of the Scottish people has changed in a century and a half by reason of the substitution of industrial for agricultural interests. It is true that an appreciable amount of the change is due to the action of natural causes and may be paralleled by what has taken place

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in other countries, but still it is safe to assume that but for the forced substitution of one form of national interest for another, such as followed the second Jacobite rebellion, Scotland would not stand so surely in the front rank of industrial nations as she does at present.

In comparison with much of its earlier history as well as with some portions of its later annals the Church of Scotland enjoyed a peaceful, uneventful existence during the second half of the eighteenth century and for some years of the one which followed. The era is usually spoken of as "the Moderate period" and its leaders aimed to render the management of the Church as systematic as possible and secure for its judicial procedure a working as formal as was that of the civil courts. It was a time of rest rather than of advance, and is by many considered the most brilliant in the history of the Church of Scotland. Among her most influential clergy were Thomas Reid, George Campbell, Adam Ferguson, John Home, Hugh Blair, William Robertson, and John Erskine, men who were not primarily concerned with theology and who sympathized with the progressive spirit of the age. A popular party in the Church was desirous of greater strictness in the enforcement of discipline and dissatisfied with the system of Church patronage then in vogue, and as one result of this dissatisfaction whenever a minister was presented to a living who was not satisfactory to the congregation the parishioners withdrew from fellowship with the Establishment and erected a meeting-house for themselves. By 1773 there were nearly two hundred of these seceding congregations and the attitude of the Moderate party towards them was unfortunately not marked with any great amount of conciliation.

In the very last years of the nineteenth century an

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evangelical revival sprang up in Scotland, the promotion of which was materially aided by the missionary journeys through Scotland of the famous brothers Haldane and Rowland Hill. Educational movements presently came into being, and as the influence of the Moderate party waned, a more uncompromising spirit made itself apparent in the third decade of the nineteenth century. The Assembly of 1830 deposed M'Leod Campbell, minister of Row, one of the profoundest Scottish theologians of that century, for declaring that "assurance is of the essence of faith and that Christ died for all men," and formally condemned the tenets of Edward Irving. Five years later the brilliant Irving was deposed by the Annan presbytery and other depositions presently followed.

In 1843 occurred the famous secession from the Established Church of 470 ministers, led by the celebrated theologian, Thomas Chalmers, commonly referred to as the Disruption. It was the final outcome of long years of ecclesiastical conflict, into the many details of which it is not needful to enter here, beyond saying that it was largely a question of ecclesiastical patronage, and was an almost overwhelming blow to the Establishment. Fully a third of its membership accompanied the seceding clergymen and many of the Edinburgh churches were almost emptied by the secession. The Gaelic population in the North completely forsook the Establishment and only one missionary remained. It is not easy in these days to apprehend the full meaning of this event to Scotland and its people. In process of time the Church of Scotland adjusted itself to the greatly changed conditions, and the Free Church, as the seceding body was termed, presently found ways and means to provide houses of worship of its own, and incomes for its clergy. New College, at Edinburgh, was

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erected in 1847, and divinity halls somewhat later in Glasgow and Aberdeen. A duplicate system of elementary schools was one outcome of the Disruption, and this continued in effect for over a generation till in 1872, in accordance with the Education Act of that year, a majority of the Free Church schools were transferred to the local school boards.

As time elapsed the fierce bitterness of the period of the Disruption softened, and calmer judgments prevailed on both sides. A tendency to minimize differences and welcome points of difference gradually became perceptible among the various branches of Scottish Presbyterianism, and on Oct. 31, 1900, a Uniting Act was formally passed by the Free Church Assembly and the United Presbyterian Synod at Edinburgh. On the next day some three thousand ministers of both churches marched to Waverley Market, where was then convened the first General Assembly of the United Free Church, Principal Rainy being the first Moderator of the united body. This was a most momentous event in the religious history of Scotland, but the Scottish disposition toward sectarianism was made evident by the decision of twenty-seven ministers and five hundred elders to continue a separate ecclesiastical existence as the Free Church. The bitter fruits of the great schism of 1843 showed themselves in much petty retaliation on both sides and a large amount of friction was engendered by refusals of sites for churches and manses. In the end, however, the independent action of the Free Church proved a stimulus to the Establishment. The new organization was self-supporting from the first and furnished thus an object lesson of significance to the elder body. Imperceptibly, but no less surely, the Church of Scotland underwent a renaissance, its doctrine and its ritual each being broadened in the process,



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while both Presbyterian bodies felt the leaven of the newer thought and practice.

Still there have been exceptions to the general growth of liberality. The Rev. William Robertson Smith, a minister of the Free Church, who became professor of Oriental languages and Old Testament exegesis in the Free Church College at Aberdeen in 1870, was one of the most distinguished Semitic scholars in his time, but this circumstance did not prevent his being suspected of heresy. In the year just named he was selected as a contributor of articles on Old Testament themes to the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and his articles in that work on "Angels" and "Bible" by their liberalism at once aroused the hostility of the conservatives. They appeared in 1875 and the next year the General Assembly appointed a committee to investigate the matter. Almost endless discussion followed, and as the immediate result of the prolonged proceedings Professor Smith was dismissed from his professorship in June, 1881. His cause, however, virtually triumphed, for his views were popularized and largely adopted both in Scotland and England. He remained on the staff of the *Britannica* till 1888, and to his skilful management was due much of the success of that great work. He was also a member of the Old Testament revision committee from 1875, and while his case was pending in the Assembly committee he travelled extensively in the East, continuing his Semitic studies in the interim. In 1883 he was appointed professor of Arabic at Cambridge, where he died in 1894. Since his removal from his chair at Aberdeen College the Free Church has never suffered another prosecution for heresy and the latest trial for heresy in the Establishment occurred in 1896-97, when the Rev. Alexander Robson, the minister at Kilmun, was deposed for

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refusal to retract the views set forth in his book, "The Saviour in the Newer Light." Protest was made between 1890 and 1895 against the declarations of such eminent Free Church theologians as Dr. Bruce, who wrote "The Training of the Twelve," Henry Drummond and Dr. George Adam Smith, but the Assembly in no case took any step beyond advising the accused persons that "their primary duty was to teach and defend the Church's faith as embodied in the Confession." The union of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches has materially helped forward the growing liberalism of Scotland and Church Congresses after the English and American models, first held in 1899 by the Free and Established Churches, have accomplished still more to this desired end.

Besides several minor Presbyterian bodies, such as the Original Secession Church with its four presbyteries, and the fragment of the Reformed Presbyterian Church with its two presbyteries, several other Protestant denominations, including Congregationalists, Baptists and Wesleyans, are represented to a considerable extent in North Britain. The most important of all these non-Presbyterian bodies is the Episcopal Church in Scotland, in communion with but historically no part of the Church of England. All but one of its seven dioceses, that of Edinburgh, which was founded by Charles the First, are pre-Reformation sees, its bishops forming the Episcopal Synod, whose presiding official, called the Primus, has the functions of a metropolitan. At the period of the Revolution of 1688, Episcopalians were well represented north of the Tweed, but the Jacobitism of the major portion aroused a policy of repression on the part of the State in 1715, and again in 1745, and in time materially reduced their number. Official recognition of George the Third in 1788, following the death of

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Charles Edward, removed a serious obstacle to the progress of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, and the repeal of the penal laws in 1792 was also of good effect.

The relation of this church to the Episcopal Church in the United States is of much interest historically and deserves a few words in this place. In March, 1783, the Rev. Samuel Seabury was chosen bishop by the fourteen Episcopal clergymen then living in Connecticut, and shortly after went to London to secure consecration from the English prelates. Many difficulties, mainly political, prevented action on their part, and after waiting more than a year Seabury preferred his request for consecration to the Scottish bishops. As non-juring prelates they were able to act unhampered by connection with the State and willingly did so. Accordingly on Nov. 14, 1784, Dr. Seabury was consecrated at Aberdeen by the bishops of Aberdeen, Moray and Ross, and the Coadjutor Bishop of Aberdeen. Returning to America the next year he was recognized as bishop in charge of New England, but there were those in the Middle and Southern States who denied the validity of consecration received from non-juring bishops. This question was ultimately set at rest by a unanimous vote in favour of the validity of the consecration, by the General Convention of 1789. The Scottish Communion Office compiled by the Non-jurors has had varying coördinate force, and the modifications of the English liturgy which the American Church adopted were largely determined by Scottish influence.

A small minority of Scotsmen have always clung to the ancient faith of the country since the Reformation period, but not until the year 1878 was the Roman hierarchy restored to Scotland. There are now six Roman Catholic dioceses, with Archbishops of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and a Catholic population of some-

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what over four hundred thousand, but consisting chiefly of persons of Irish birth.

As education in a greater or lesser amount is what no Scotsman will willingly do without, we need not be surprised to learn of the existence of schools in the principal Scottish towns so early as the thirteenth century. They were under the oversight of the chancellor of the diocese and were mainly concerned with studies preparatory to the priesthood. Prior to the Reformation schools for general education were connected with many religious houses, and in the "First Book of Discipline," dating from 1560, a comprehensive plan of general education was set forth. The proposal was, however, not carried out, nor did an Act of 1616 providing for the establishment of a school in every parish take effect either, and the parochial system prevailing until 1872 virtually dates from the Act of William and Mary in 1696, which provided for a school in each parish, which should be maintained at the cost of the heritors. Denominational and subscription schools in great numbers came into being as a consequence of the multiplication of religious sects; schools which furnished secular as well as religious instruction.

What was in effect a revolution in school management was accomplished by the Education Act of 1872, which abolished the former conduct of the parish schools and substituted districts controlled by school boards elected by the rate-payers for three years. Large powers were given to these boards and the schools were also aided by grants from the Government, as were denominational schools likewise. Control was now transferred from the clergy to School Boards, and while landlords were relieved from the expense of maintenance of schools and salaries of teachers, the burden they had previously borne was now laid upon the community. Religious prob-

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lems connected with the school question were avoided by neither prescribing nor proscribing, but leaving their settlement to the judgment of the local ballot. As the various Presbyterian bodies virtually withdrew from the field, the voluntary schools difficulty, so conspicuous in England, was to all intents and purposes non-existent in Scotland.

The passage of the Act of 1872 was followed ten years later by the Educational Endowments Act, which secured for purposes of secondary education enormous sums, the accumulations of centuries of pious bequest, and provided for a more inclusive system of such education as well as for a scheme of systematic inspection. The Scottish Education Department was re-organized in 1885 and separated from the English Department, undertaking at the same time the inspection of higher class schools. In 1898 the functions of the Science and Art Department were, so far as regarded Scotland, transferred to the Scottish Department. Still further educational reforms were brought about by the passage, in 1887, of a Technical Schools Act and an Educational and Local Taxation Act in 1892. Technical education has had staunch support in Scotland, the foremost technical schools being the Glasgow and West of England Technical College, established in 1886, and the Heriot-Watt College of Edinburgh, incorporated under the Educational Endowments Act of 1882. Almost of equal excellence and efficiency, however, are similar schools at Aberdeen, Coatbridge, Paisley and elsewhere.

The signal importance of special training for teachers has been very generally recognized, not only by the founding of university lectureships for this purpose, but by the support of normal schools controlled by the various churches. Aberdeen, Glasgow and Edinburgh each contain such training schools, maintained by the

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Established and Free Churches separately; the Episcopal Church has one normal school for women at Edinburgh and the Roman Catholic Church another at Glasgow for women also.

The capstone of education in Scotland is, as in most European and American countries, the university. Younger considerably than England's two great universities of Oxford and Cambridge, but still sufficiently venerable as compared with American universities, the four institutions of Saint Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh may well be the pride of loyal Caledonians. Meagrely supported as they have sometimes been, by reason of lack of endowment, and insufficiently manned with professors, as has been the case at certain periods, they have yet played a great part in the advancement of learning in Scotland. The University of Saint Andrews, founded 1411, is the oldest of them, and with it University College, founded at Dundee in 1880, became affiliated ten years subsequently. Glasgow University was founded in 1450, and after being long housed in confined quarters in the heart of the city was removed in 1869 to a commanding site overlooking the valley of the Kelvin in the outskirts of Glasgow, where a magnificent building, designed by the noted architect, Sir Gilbert Scott, was erected for its accommodation. The Queen Margaret College for women, established in 1883, was incorporated with it in 1893. The University of Aberdeen was founded in 1860 by the union and incorporation of the university and King's College, founded in Old Aberdeen in 1494, and of the Marischal College and university founded in New Aberdeen in 1593. Its quarter-centenary was celebrated in 1895, at which time the beautiful new Mitchell Hall was completed and opened for the use of the university. Edinburgh University, the youngest of the four, celebrated

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its ter-centenary in 1889. It was one of the first institutions to admit women to its classes and award them degrees, and has long placed especial emphasis upon the teaching in its medical department.

An event of much importance in the annals of the Scottish universities was the gift they received in 1901 from the well-known steel magnate of Pittsburgh, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, a transplanted Scotsman claiming Dunfermline as his birthplace, of £2,000,000 sterling. This sum was placed in charge of a board of trustees, the income to be applied partly to the equipment of the four universities, partly to the payment of the fees of students needing assistance in acquiring the higher education.

At the time of the battle of Culloden, and for a long time after that event, the average Englishman knew as little about the country north of the Tweed and the Solway as the average citizen of the United States of to-day knows about Argentina or Patagonia, which amounts to saying that he knew nothing about it at all. He held a vague belief that Scotland was a wilderness for the most part and inhabited by a half-savage population. If he made any slight distinction in his own mind between Highlander and Lowlander that was as much as could be expected. Politicians, of course, possessed fairly accurate information concerning the country, for it was their business to do so, but the man in the street knew very little of Scotland and cared still less. People seldom travelled in those days for the sake of beholding fine scenery, indeed the perception of the beautiful in natural scenery was not a marked characteristic of the men of the eighteenth century. What they really admired was a landscape that owed nearly everything to the hand of man. They delighted in formal gardens with neat paths and close-clipt



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hedges, artificial cascades and fantastic summer-houses. And so the landscape gardeners of that century did their best, and their best was exceeding well, to cater to the formal tastes of their patrons.

But even had these eighteenth century personages not preferred art to unassisted nature, there were serious obstacles that would have stood stoutly in the way of their enjoyment of natural beauty, and chief among these was the difficulty experienced in getting from place to place on account of the exceedingly primitive condition of the roads in all parts of the United Kingdom. The annals of the time are burdened with accounts of the discomforts of travel. One escaped the urgent solicitations of the almost omnipresent highwaymen only to have one's coach stuck fast in the mud for many hours, or shaken to pieces while crossing a rough countryside. Such was the case within a very few miles of London; as one journeyed farther from the capital matters grew much worse, while in Scotland, and especially in the Highland portion, the thoroughfares were in most cases of a most rudimentary character. Small was the temptation to travel for the mere pleasure of travelling, and we need not wonder that the stress of necessity of one kind or another was needful as a stimulus to journeying from home. But affairs in this particular were presently to experience a most decided change for the better throughout the United Kingdom, and it was a Scotsman who was to accomplish the desired revolution in the science of road-making.

John Loudon Macadam, who was born in Scotland in 1756, and died in 1836, was a prime agent in effecting this change, though he did not work entirely alone. He spent his early youth in New York, and then returning to his native country became interested in observing the mistaken manner in which roads were then constructed.



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After repeated experiments he became convinced that broken stone made the best roads when properly applied to the surface, and his system ere long came into general use in England, where he held responsible engineering positions, and was successfully employed in France also. The prosperity of the United Kingdom owes much to this Scotsman whose scientific system of road construction still echoes his name, on both sides of the Atlantic.

The era of Macadam did not dawn any too soon. In the year that he was born a four-horse coach began to run regularly between Edinburgh and Glasgow, taking twelve hours to cover the distance, a matter of forty-three miles. About 1799 the running time had been reduced one-half, on account of the improvement of the road between the two cities, but it was not until 1811 that it became practicable to establish a regular mail service between Aberdeen and Inverness. North of Dornoch Firth the country remained in a state of nature until the Marquis of Stafford began the improvement of his Sutherland estates in 1807. Government gave some aid and main highways were carried to Tongue and Wick. Lord Breadalbane had opened up the central Highlands still earlier, but the condition of the western Highlands was such that for a long time after this intercourse from one district to another was mainly carried on by sea.

When the third decade of the eighteenth century was nearing its close, one of the most noted Englishmen of the day, as confirmed a Londoner as was ever Charles Lamb, concluded to brave the dangers of a journey through Scotland, partly in fulfilment of an early conceived desire, partly at the solicitation of his friend and adoring biographer, James Boswell. Like many another contemporary Englishman the great Dr. Samuel Johnson nourished a host of prejudices against Scot-

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land and its people, and though these were materially softened by the lapse of time and possibly through association with Boswell, whom he really loved but constantly snubbed, he still indulged in more or less playful grumbling against the Land of Cakes and its inhabitants. Arrived in Edinburgh on the fourteenth of August, 1773, he was there joined by the faithful Boswell and the two set out upon a trip not without its hardships to a lover of London pavements, reaching the Island of Skye on the third of September. A sojourn in the Hebrides then followed, and after visiting various other portions of Scotland the two found themselves again in Edinburgh on the ninth of November following; a three months' journey of considerable significance for the time and the principal person undertaking it. While still in Scotland Johnson was asked how he liked the Highlands, to which he replied, "Who *can* like the Highlands? I like the inhabitants very well," an answer which revealed not only the prevailing indifference to or dislike of scenery of the wilder sort, but the loss of some national prejudice.

The immediate outcome of the tour was Johnson's book, "A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland," published in 1775; a somewhat remoter result was the awakening of interest in Scottish scenery and people, which the reading of Johnson's travels gradually brought about. The Hebrides, indeed, were scarcely known even to the Scotsman of the Lowlands, and Johnson's narrative, with the weight of its author's name, super-added, piqued national as well as English curiosity. Sir Walter Scott's "Lady of the Lake," appearing in 1810, a generation later, did much toward fostering a genuine enthusiasm for Scottish history, habits and customs, and this was deepened somewhat by the appearance of "The Lord of the Isles," an epic by Scott,

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in 1815. The chief stimulus to genuine interest in things Scottish was, however, afforded by Scott's "Waverley, or 'Tis Sixty Years Since," which was published anonymously in 1814, and turned the feet of many and many a traveller toward the Highlands, whose natural attractions were now achieving recognition. Scott did not write without personal acquaintance with the scenes of his epics, "The Lord of the Isles," for example, being the outcome of a cruise in the Hebrides taken with the grandfather of Robert Louis Stevenson.

Scott having pointed the way the world was ready enough to follow, and from his time to ours Scotland has been the Mecca toward which lovers of scenery have bent their steps in ever-increasing numbers. To some extent the regard for Scottish scenery was at first more or less of an assumed liking, but this has since been replaced by an intelligent admiration for it quite free from conventional sentiment. The tide of travel that every year sweeps through the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland is one of the distinctive features of the country. Apart from commercial or industrial inducements to visit Scotland, and these are innumerable now that the country is largely an industrial one, thousands upon thousands of English and Americans go to Scotland because of its scenery alone. Literary associations have great weight in making Scotland the goal of many more, but the wild and beautiful scenery that persons of taste shrank from making acquaintance with in the eighteenth century is the chief attraction to the majority of tourists in Scotland in the twentieth. The world moves and the generations move with it.

It is sufficiently obvious that in a rapid survey of Scottish affairs through over 150 years, small opportunity is afforded for dwelling upon the changes that have been wrought during that period in the archi-

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tectural appearance of Scottish towns, their constant enlargements to meet the needs of rapidly growing municipalities, their radical improvements in countless directions, but some few words relating to the matter must perforce be said. We have already had occasion to refer to the great numbers of new buildings which the industrial progress of Glasgow made needful as homes for the prosperous citizens, houses far eclipsing in appearance, comfort and convenience the modest residences which had sufficed for their fathers. Corresponding changes took place in Edinburgh likewise, and owing to the overcrowding of what is now known as the Old Town of Edinburgh they were even more imperatively demanded.

The first house in the New Town, which was to cover presently a wide expanse of level ground to the north of the valley of the Nor' Loch, was erected in 1767, but so conservative was the community that the magistrates were obliged to offer a premium before its building was undertaken. A nephew of the poet Thomson laid out the New Town and the magistrates in naming its many streets and squares bestowed such appellations as King and Queen, George and Charlotte, York and the like, with great freedom. Having thus sufficiently honoured the reigning house they desired to call the principal thoroughfare Saint Giles Street, but this did not please King George the Third when the map of the New Town was shown him. "Hey, hey; what, what — Saint Giles Street! Never do, never do!" and so the avenue, now one of the very finest in the world, was called Princes Street after the two sons of the king. In George Street in the New Town may be seen St. Andrew's Church, a building of a grim Georgian type but with a notably fine spire. Within its walls occurred the famous Disruption of 1843 when 470 ministers with the great Chalmers

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went out from the Establishment because of their conscientious objections to lay patronage, and founded the Free Church, a famous historical event already touched upon in these pages.

But St. Andrews is by no means the sole church of importance in this quarter, for the New Town, like the Old Town, abounds in churches, and among the cluster of towers near the west end of Princes Street the tall spire of the Episcopal cathedral of St. Mary stands prominently forth. The building was designed by Sir Gilbert Scott in the Early English or First Pointed style, and by reason of its great size and its imposing appearance ranks among the foremost specimens of modern Gothic church architecture to be found in Great Britain. The funds for its erection were derived from the bequest of two wealthy Edinburgh ladies named Walker. Other buildings of architectural significance which the nineteenth century has seen added to Edinburgh's attractions are the incompleted National Monument on Calton Hill, modelled after the Parthenon and commemorating the Scottish soldiers who fell in the Peninsular War; the High School, a much admired Greek structure on the same eminence; Fettes College in French-Gothic opened in 1870; the Catholic Apostolic Church in London Street in late Norman style; and near this last, in Queen Street, is the new Venetian Gothic structure which contains the National Portrait Gallery and the National Museum of Antiquities.

The Scott monument in the Princes Street Gardens is, however, the object upon which the eye lingers longest in admiration. It is a lofty structure designed by George Kemp, a joiner, in very elaborate Gothic and contains a seated statue of Sir Walter beneath its spired canopy. It was unveiled on the fifteenth of August, 1840, only

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three days after its talented architect had been accidentally drowned, and is in strong contrast to the remarkably ugly monument to Lord Nelson on the Calton Hill. One would scarcely look for a memorial to Abraham Lincoln in Nelson's vicinity, but in the Calton Burying Ground, close by, one is suddenly confronted with his statue erected by an American consul of Scottish descent as a tribute to Scottish-American soldiers who fell in the American Civil War.

Famous above all the Edinburgh churches, old or new, is the great grey mass of St. Giles's Cathedral in the Old Town. In 1829 much ill-advised reconstruction and alteration in the fabric was undertaken, but all this was fortunately swept away by the efforts of William Chambers, Lord Provost of the city in the early seventies of the last century. For more than ten years he was instrumental in carrying on the work of restoration, paying a large part of the enormous cost himself and dying only three days before the building was reopened on May 25, 1883. That the restored and beautified structure now appears rather newer than its many centuried past would seem to warrant, may perhaps be admitted, but this was possibly more or less inevitable as a consequence.

The same spirit of ignorance which was responsible for the tasteless alterations of St. Giles's in 1829 was exhibited in regard to Glasgow Cathedral some twenty years later. Until 1845 that edifice possessed two western towers which, though not precisely beautiful adjuncts, were of historic significance. A building committee decided that they interfered with the general effect and accordingly, in spite of vigorous protests from citizens and architects, down they came, one known as the Consistory House, in 1845, and the other three years later. Since then wiser counsels have pre-

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vailed and nothing drastic in the way of alteration or restoration has been attempted. One might wish that the very modern stained windows in the crypt were less violent in colouring, but speaking generally the excellent condition in which the cathedral is now maintained is a matter for thankfulness.

One other restored cathedral should be named in this connection, Dunblane, ruined at the time of the Reformation. The choir has been preserved from that time as a Presbyterian parish church, but the long and beautiful nave continued a ruin for the lapse of three centuries. Then in 1892 a restoration of the fabric was carried out at the instance of private beneficence. Conservative counsels prevailed. No attempt was made to substitute new masonry for old, except where the old was hopelessly shattered, but the roofless nave received an open timbered roof and the interior, cleared of rubbish, was fitted for service after the Presbyterian manner. The most northern cathedral church in the United Kingdom, that of Kirkwell in the Orkneys, has not as yet fallen into the restorer's hands, although it is rumoured that such an event may be not far off. Should it ever take place it is to be hoped that restoration will proceed on the conservative lines which were followed at Dunblane.

If Scotland's political annals were to be blended with those of the greater nation south of the Border when the union of the two countries was accomplished and when the two Jacobite uprisings were events of the past, its literary history suffered no such eclipse. Fate had ordained that henceforth the fortunes of England and Scotland were, in the broader sense of the term, to be one, but she did not assert that Scottish literature should be inextricably confused with the literature of England. On the contrary, the cultivation of letters in the north



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of Great Britain experienced a forward influence in the period following the Union, an impulse that mightily strengthened as the years went by and is still potent. The close of the eighteenth century was illuminated by the genius of the peasant-born Burns, whose lyrics still echo round the world; the first quarter of the nineteenth was made glorious by Sir Walter Scott, and the last quarter saw the growth of the wide fame of Robert Louis Stevenson. And associated with the fame of these three Scotsmen are the names of a mighty army of Caledonians, — historians, philosophers, essayists, theologians, physicians, novelists and poets, who have borne their part in making Scottish literature what it is to-day.

Though Edinburgh lost some of its prestige with the establishment of political union between the two countries bordering on the Tweed and the Solway, it gained prestige in another direction, and in bringing this about the most potent factor was Allan Ramsay, a small wig-maker in Edinburgh High Street. "To him," says one writer, "more than to any other man, is due the revival of literary interest in Edinburgh after a century of torpor." He became a resident of Edinburgh about 1717 and to his avocation of wig-making he presently added the business of book-selling. Ere coming to Edinburgh he was already favourably known as the author of several humorous poems, and his business in the Scottish capital so increased as to lead him to publish his own verses by subscription. This venture proved successful and as book-selling was found profitable also, "he gave up the outside of the head for the inside," as Mr. Gosse has put it, and relinquishing wig-making altogether devoted his attention to literature. By the year 1725 he had come to be considered the leading literary light of Scotland, and in June of that



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year his own "Gentle Shepherd" appeared. Robert Chambers pronounced this work the best pastoral poem in the range of British literature, and Gosse has characterized it similarly. "Though he wrote a great deal of absolute rubbish," continues Mr. Gosse, "his pastoral drama of 'The Gentle Shepherd' is the best British specimen of its class and contains some very beautiful passages both of dialogue and description. Most of Ramsay's original songs were poor, but he preserved the habit of the Doric dialect, and as an editor and collector of national poetry he did thoroughly efficient and valuable work. His two miscellanies, 'The Tea-Table' and 'The Evergreen,' were not without their direct influence in preparing the Scottish ear for Burns."

The book shop into which Ramsay moved the year following the publication of "The Gentle Shepherd" occupied a central and conspicuous position and very shortly became the resort of the wits and clever men of the town, especially after the enterprising poet set up a circulating library supplied not only with the latest London issues but those of noted Scotsmen in whom he was desirous of reviving popular interest. In September, 1736, he opened a theatre, but the next year a statute appeared forbidding the acting of stage plays outside of London and Ramsay's venture came to naught. His means, however, allowed him to build a handsome home near what is now called Ramsay Gardens, and here the last fourteen years of his life were spent enjoying the management of his circulating library and the preparation of new editions of his own works. His long life came to an end in 1757, and in the Princes Street gardens his statue now gazes amiably upon the passers-by.

In connection with the Scottish revival of letters it should be noted that for a long time a struggle went

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on between pure Scots and classic English, men who "spoke their mother tongue without disguise, experiencing great difficulty in suppressing their native idiom," remarks Mr. Gosse, "when they came to emulate the *Spectator* or the *Tatler*. The worst of it was that the Scots tongue was looked upon as rude and contemptible, and for a long time even the preachings and the practice of Allan Ramsay did not contrive to make the dialect fashionable. The revival of popular poetry came at last, and culminated splendidly in Burns. The use of Scottish prose, except by the novelists in dialogue, has never been seriously accepted, and probably never will be."

Of a very different order of merit from that of the cheery, benevolent wig-maker and book-seller of Edinburgh High Street, was James Thomson, born in 1700, fourteen years after Ramsay, but dying twelve years earlier, in 1748. He has been called, and with much justice, "the most original and poetic figure which exists between Pope and Gray. There was hardly one verse-writer of any eminence, from 1725 to 1750, who was not in some measure guided or biassed by Thomson, whose genius is to this day fertile in English literature. If his influence had been as broad as it was potent, and his originality as versatile as it was genuine, Thomson might have been one of the six or seven greatest English poets. As it is, within his restricted limits he is as exquisite, as sincerely inspired as any poet needs be, and his function in recalling English men of letters to an imaginative study of external nature is of the highest historical importance."

Born at Ednam, on the Scottish border, he spent his childhood in a beautiful part of Roxburghshire and while a student of divinity in Edinburgh began at twenty to write verse. In 1725 he went up to London there to

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seek his fortune, as so many hundreds of Scottish lads have done since Thomson's time, and while suffering actual poverty wrote his poem of "Winter" in the autumn of that same year, the work appearing in folio in the March following. "Summer" was issued in 1727, "Spring" in 1728, and the completed "Seasons" in 1730, comprising "Autumn" and a closing "Hymn to Nature." The work now contains some 5,500 lines, but was originally much shorter, as the poet continued at work upon it for the rest of his career altering or adding to it, bringing in new allusions and working over episodes. As the work now stands, "Winter," the earliest portion written, is the shortest of the four divisions.

At thirty Thomson had risen to be the leading one of the younger poets and was esteemed next after Pope, but though he continued to write he did not at once continue to delight his readers as he had previously done. His poem "Liberty," appearing in five instalments from 1734 to 1736, proved too great a strain upon the loyalty of his admirers and must be pronounced dull in the extreme. Various tragedies succeeded this sleep provoking effort of his muse, all now safely forgotten, and then in the May preceding his death was issued the beautiful and still popular "Castle of Indolence," in Spenserian stanza. It appears to have been written as early as 1733 and the opening stanzas seem almost like an anticipation of Keats. Certainly no other eighteenth century verse shows this likeness, and the poem as a whole undoubtedly had a determining influence upon certain aspects of Shelley's work. Thomson was a universal favourite, and when he died suddenly in August of 1748 all Great Britain mourned his loss. He left several imitators of his style, the chief among them being John Armstrong, born like Thomson, in

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Roxburghshire. He became a London physician and was the author, among other things, of a medical poem in blank verse on "The Art of Preserving Health." The structure of his verse was founded upon Thomson's, but is not without a certain dignified independence, nevertheless.

The two lives of Ramsay and Thomson span, so far as poetic composition is concerned, the transitional era in Scottish literature which paralleled the earlier half of the nineteenth century. The influences more immediately surrounding Ramsay were purely Scottish and he worshipped the leaders of England's Augustan Age from afar; Thomson, on the other hand, became an active participant in the literary life of London and was reckoned virtually one of themselves by his English fellow craftsmen. Still the fame of Thomson, though primarily English in character, was a matter of rejoicing in Edinburgh and reflected glory in abundance upon his native Scotland.

"In a general survey of English poetry from 1660 to 1780," writes Mr. Gosse, "the first thing that strikes us is that, without ceasing to be either popular or abundant, poetic work has become, and remains to the close of the eighteenth century, subordinated to prose, and of a second order of interest."

This is in a great measure true even if we have in mind only the literature produced by Scotsmen. Poetry was composed by them in great abundance during the major part of the period above named, and it found readers also, but it was fully evident that however the Scotsman might regard verse as the solace and amusement of his lighter hours, prose, and very often prose of massive solidity, was the surer vehicle to his sympathies. Whether the same is true in the twentieth century is no part of our present duty to consider. It

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was quite in the natural order of things that after the renaissance of Scottish literature had made itself felt in the verse of Ramsay and numerous contemporaries now in great part forgotten, prose should then come prominently to the front in philosophy, history and theology. Scotsmen have always inclined toward investigation in these fields, and the more arid such fields might have been found by others the more the Scotsman was disposed to regard them as his own.

Among the earlier metaphysicians of this period was Francis Hutcheson, born in 1694, in Ulster to be sure, but of Scotch Irish parentage, and for many years the occupant of the chair of moral philosophy in Glasgow University. He died in 1746 and nine years later appeared his "System of Philosophy." In his essays he expands the system of Shaftesbury and emphasizes the analogy between beauty and virtue. His clear and graceful style is seen to advantage in the "Inquiry Concerning Beauty." Among his pupils at Glasgow was the subsequently famous Adam Smith.

Greatest of the eighteenth century philosophers of Great Britain after Berkeley, whose work does not fall precisely within our present ken, was David Hume, celebrated not only as a metaphysician, but as a historian and essayist as well. He was born in Edinburgh in 1711 and in his early manhood, while pursuing his studies under the Jesuits, he planned his first work, which in 1739 appeared in print as a "Treatise on Human Nature." It attracted attention and Hutcheson becoming interested in the young man introduced him to Adam Smith. His "Essays, Moral and Political," appeared anonymously in 1741 and 1742 and met with a cordial reception. In these writings he reveals himself as conscientiously opposed to popular government. With the exception of a few years passed abroad he

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spent the earlier part of his literary career in seclusion in Berwickshire and it was not till 1752 that he was financially able to remove from the country to Edinburgh, where he was made the Advocates Librarian. Within this time he had written "Dialogues on Natural Religion" (published long afterwards), "Principles of Morals" in 1757, and "Political Discourses in 1752," the last named work of great value to students of political economy.

Established in a comfortable town home he began almost at once the great work by which he is best known to the average reader, the "History of Great Britain," successive volumes of which appeared in 1754, 1756, 1759 and 1762. The apathy with which it was received was a bitter disappointment to its author, who at first seriously meditated changing his name and becoming a French citizen. As the later volumes were issued the excellencies of the work were more fully perceived and the book gradually won its way to favourable regard. The method of writing history has radically changed from what it was in Hume's day, and the painstaking research among State papers and the accuracy so hardly striven for in these days and so characteristic of the recent school of historians would have been as little to the taste of the eighteenth century historian as to the apprehension of his readers. Hume studied to please in the first instance, attempted only the most superficial research and made statements at the farthest remove possible from authoritative. But the age was unexact in its demands for historic accuracy and his profound respect for royal authority as such was not then esteemed a serious fault. His style, moreover, was now at its very clear and polished best and the cruder histories of the time could by no means compare with it in dignity of diction and sober excellence.

While engaged upon his "History" he wrote and pub-

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lished a "Natural History of Religion," embodying the latest conclusions which his skeptical philosophy had reached, a work very little to the liking of the stricter religionists among his fellow countrymen. He did, however, enjoy a great deal of popularity in France, in which country he lived for three years attached to the English embassy. His remaining years, till his death in 1776, were spent in his bachelor home in Edinburgh. Opinions respecting the literary quality of his writing differ greatly, certain critics awarding him somewhat exaggerated praise and others as distinctly undervaluing him. His polished style is admirable in itself but tends strongly toward monotony of effect, and he is never swayed by enthusiasm. His intellectual powers may be rated highly and it cannot be denied that his thinking displays originality. His natural frigidity of disposition is apparent in his calm criticism of belief, and he constantly inclines to the point of view of the destructive philosopher. Where he most decidedly excels is in his absolute clearness of statement, his entire competence to express whatever it is that he desires to say at the moment.

An interesting incident is related in connection with the naming of the street in the New Town of Edinburgh where he lived and in which his was the first house built. The thoroughfare was left for some time unnamed and one day a young lady well known to the philosopher wrote on the wall with chalk, "Saint David Street." Passers-by, observing the title, were greatly amused at the idea of thus canonizing the apostle of materialism, and the name, jestingly bestowed, was so universally adopted that it has remained as the accepted name of the street ever since.

Another eminent Scottish historian of this century was William Robertson, a clergyman of the Scottish



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Church, born in 1721, and in certain respects singularly like his contemporary just named. Prominent in Edinburgh public life, he became widely famous in 1758 as the author of a "History of Scotland" and in 1769 he published three volumes of the "History of the Reign of Charles V." Like Hume he was incapable of perceiving the need for minute and impartial research, but like Hume, also, he possessed an exceedingly graceful style. He surpassed the philosopher in skilful general estimates and his "Charles V" may still be read for the literary pleasure it affords. This is especially true of his description of the discovery of America, which is full of dramatic power. It was the perusal of the opening chapters of the "Charles V" that awakened the historic sense in Carlyle's boyhood years, furnishing him with "new worlds of knowledge, vistas in all directions." Robertson published several minor historical works and died in 1793.

Henry Home, best known by his title of Lord Kames, was a critic with a metaphysical turn of mind whose long life extended from 1696 to 1782, and whose "Art of Thinking" (1761) and "Elements of Criticism" (1768) were extensively circulated in a century when many persons laid claim to some acquaintance with metaphysics. He is both ingenious and acute and though undeniably dry is still occasionally read. A more practical work, "The Gentleman Farmer" (1771), enjoyed a long popularity.

Hugh Blair, born in 1718, won great celebrity as a rhetorician, it is difficult now to see why, for his famous lectures on taste which exercised a benumbing effect upon contemporary style are both dry and insipid, their author possessing scanty insight into the principles of genuine criticism. His career closed in 1800, and a few years prior to that event he published several volumes



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of "Sermons" abounding in platitudes and duller than any human being has the right to be. "Blair," observes Mr. Gosse, "had the presumption to blame the style of Johnson; but as the reputation of that great man rose, his Scottish critic found himself supple enough to become one of the closest of Johnson's superficial imitators. Johnson himself, and others only less than he, thought they found something to praise in Blair's bucket of warm water; but the modern reader seeks there in vain for any solid profit to the intellect or the taste."

One of the most brilliant literary figures of the time was Adam Smith, who was born in Kirkcaldy, in 1723. Educated at Oxford he later studied under Hutcheson, at Glasgow University, as already stated, and succeeded him in the chair of philosophy there. He was the author of two famous works, originally delivered as lectures at Glasgow: The "Theory of Moral Sentiments," published in 1759, and the "Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations," first printed in 1776. The optimism of the first of these rendered it highly popular, but it finds few readers nowadays, and its successor is infinitely superior. Meanwhile Smith had visited France and there met such noted political economists as Turgot and Quesnay, a circumstance which had a determining influence upon the structure and theme of this second book. Often referred to as the earliest prophet of Free Trade it is truer to say with Mr. Leslie Stephen that "he was the first writer who succeeded in so presenting that doctrine as to convince statesmen" in its behalf.

"The chief merit of the 'Wealth of Nations,' and that which enables it still to hold its place at the head of the politico-economic literature of the world, is not any very great originality in detail, but an extraordinary grasp of all parts of the subject, and a marvellous ability

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in illustrating theoretical propositions by apt instances from practical life. . . . To the purely literary student, desirous of an example of Adam Smith's style, which is always lucid and correct, no better specimen can be recommended than the letter he wrote to Strahan describing his last interview with the dying Hume." Smith died in 1790 in the enjoyment of a well-earned reputation and after the lapse of considerably more than a century his name and work are still held in active remembrance.

One famous literary Scotsman of the eighteenth century, and already mentioned in these pages, has had the undeserved fortune to remain the butt of captious critics from his own day to ours, James Boswell, born of a good Ayrshire family in 1740. He had been for some time an enthusiastic admirer of Johnson and in his twenty-third year had the felicity of being presented to the sage, beginning on the same day to take notes of the other's conversation. Fortunately for posterity Johnson was immediately pleased with the appearance and society of the modest young fellow, and a warm, affectionate friendship resulted from the meeting. Ten years later while the two were making their remarkable tour in Scotland Boswell kept a minute diary of the journey which was printed in 1785 as the "Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides," and which is a vastly better work than the great lexicographer's own account of that same excursion. In 1791 the faithful Boswell published the "Life of Samuel Johnson" which the verdict of posterity has placed among the world's best books. "Those who think that James Boswell was a vain and shallow coxcomb of mediocre abilities, without intellectual gifts of any eminence, are confronted with the fact that this supposed fool was the unaided author of two of the most graphic and readable works which the eighteenth

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century has left us. It is right that Boswell's claim to a high independent place in literature should be vindicated, and the fact is that, after Burke and Goldsmith, he is by far the most considerable of the literary companions of Johnson. That he has risen into fame on the shoulders of that great man is true, but the fact has been insisted upon until his own genuine and peculiar merits have been most unduly overlooked." Boswell's theory of biography, one quite new to his age, "was, that the subject should as far as possible tell his own story and throw light upon his own character. . . . Bold as the experiment was, Boswell rose at once to the summit of success. The faculty of forming and retaining impressions of social phenomena was developed in him to an extraordinary degree, . . . and there has never been since, and there probably never will be, seen, a literary portrait so rich, so well-proportioned, and so detailed. Johnson lives in Boswell's pages, and lives at full length.

"Among Boswell's qualities as a narrator, his dramatic power ranks high. In rendering long dialogues, the minutiae of which cannot have lingered in his memory, he seldom fails to preserve the utmost propriety of speech, the utmost regard for what would be characteristic in the mouth of each speaker. . . . Boswell observed very exactly, and with a happy regard for the picturesque touches of daily action. . . . No man of that age saw the ground about his own feet more clearly, with less prejudice, less obscured by reverie, or vanity, or indifference. His style, from a man who idolized Johnson, and could reproduce 'the bow-wow' so faithfully, is remarkably simple and unstudied; he is as free as Goldsmith is from imitation of their common idol. Boswell was petulant and foppish, excessively jealous of the attentions other men received from Johnson, but at bottom as simple and

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honest as he was vivacious. . . . His great originality as a literary artist is best proved by the fact that although every biographer since his day has imitated him not one has successfully competed with him."

The third quarter of the eighteenth century, so far as England was concerned, was a singularly sterile period in the annals of British poesy and the revival which poetry was to experience ere the century's end would have appeared inconceivable to the men and women of that same quarter of the century could it have been foretold them. In Scotland the case was different and about 1765 a tendency was perceptible throughout the Lowlands to attune the humble details of ordinary life, as well as its tenderer emotions, to freely-constructed and musical measures. What was especially noteworthy in this outburst of song was the circumstance that Scottish women of all ranks took a foremost part. Jean Adams wrote the exquisite lyric beginning:

" And are ye sure the news is true  
And are ye sure he's weel,"<sup>1</sup>

and in 1771 Lady Anne Barnard made the world her debtor, though in her lifetime few or none knew to whom the debt was payable, by giving to it the pathetic ballad of "Auld Robin Gray," a song in which the note struck in the opening stanza is firmly held until the last. Only a poet born, not made, could have made so faultless a beginning:

" When the sheep are in the fauld, and the kye come hame,  
And a' the weary warld to sleep are gane;  
The waes o' my heart fa' in showers frae my ee,  
While my gudeman lies sound by me."

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Jean Adams and Lady Barnard did not sing alone; theirs were but two voices in the full choir of women singers in their day.

Of no especial importance for his own sake some acquaintance with Robert Fergusson (who died in a Scottish lunatic asylum in 1774 at the early age of twenty-four) is of service as introductory to completer knowledge of that other and greater Scottish Robert — Robert Burns. Talent and temperament in the case of Fergusson were anticipatory of those qualities in Burns. The pathetic end of the earlier poet, whose small volume of verse was issued in 1773, caused regret wherever he was known, but in Burns this emotion, blended as it was with sympathetic admiration, became almost passionate in its character. His perusal of Fergusson's volume led him to study with real attention the practice of native poetry and but for Fergusson there might have been no Burns. As someone has somewhere said, the works of the earlier and lesser poet were the *juvenilia* of the greater one. Burns awarded such enthusiastic praise to his literary predecessor that one experiences not a little disappointment on first taking up Fergusson's slender book, the major part of which consists of odes, eclogues and ballads strongly imitative of contemporary English bards like Collins and Shenstone. Of more promise are his burlesque heroics descriptive of Edinburgh society, but it is in the small collection of his "Scots Poems" that his talent most surely appears. "Particularly true is this in the case," says Mr. Gosse, of "those lyrics in what we think of as the Burns stanza: 'Caller Oysters,' 'Daft Days,' 'Caller Water,' and 'To the Tron Kirk Bell.' In his 'Hallow-Fair,' his 'Ode to the Gowdspink,' and 'Auld Reikie' he comes nearer to Burns than any other Scottish poet of earlier or later times." It

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is from one of Fergusson's humorous poems in "the Burns stanza," that the following lines, composing its closing verse, are taken. The poem is entitled "Braid Claith" (Anglice, broadcloth).

"For though ye had as wise a snout on  
As Shakespeare or Sir Isaac Newton,  
Your judgment fouk would hae a doubt on,  
I'll tak my aith,  
Till they could see ye wi' a suit on  
O' guid braid claith."

This stanza is so nearly in the manner of "the inspired peasant" that nine persons out of ten who were unaware of its actual authorship would unhesitatingly attribute it to Burns himself.

Says the critic, Saintsbury, "We shall never understand Burns aright if we do not grasp the fact that he was a 'folk-poet,' into whom the soul of a poet of all time and all space had entered. In all times and countries where folk-poetry has a genuine existence, its forms and expressions are much less the property of the individual than of the race. . . . Burns is, if not our only example, our only example of the very first quality, of the poet who takes existing work and hands it on shaped to his own fashion. Not that he was not perfectly competent to do without any existing canvas, while, when he had it he treated it without the slightest punctilio. Of some of the songs which he reshaped into masterpieces he took no more than the air and the measure, of others only the refrain or the first few lines; of others again stanzas or parts of stanzas. But everywhere he stamped the version with something of his own — something thenceforward inseparable from it, and yet characteristic of him. In the expression of the triumph and despair of love, not sicklied over without

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any thought as in must modern poets, only Catullus and Sappho can touch Burns. . . . It was in this tremendous force of natural passion and affection, and in his simple observation of common things, that Burns's great lesson for his age and country lay. None even of the reformers had dared to be passionate as yet."

A more dispassionate critic, Leslie Stephen, is essentially at one with Saintsbury, and we find him asserting without any hesitation that "no one even approaches Burns in masculine strength or concentrated utterance of passion. Though all his writings are occasional, he reflects every mood of the national character, its tenderness, its sensuous vigour, and its patriotic fervour. Like Byron, he always wrought at a white heat, but, unlike Byron, he had the highest lyrical power, and, if he sometimes fails, he does not fail by excessive dilution. He is only insipid when he tries to adopt the conventional English of his day."

Robert Burns, the eldest of seven children, was born at Alloway, Ayrshire, on the twenty-fifth of January, 1759. He was the son of a small farmer, William Burness or Burnes, and on the occasion of the publication in 1786 of his first book he adopted the present spelling of his name. "The poet," writes Carlyle, "was fortunate in his father—a man of thoughtful intense character, as the best of our poets are, valuing knowledge, possessing some and open-minded for more, of keen insight and devout heart, friendly and fearless; a fully unfolded man seldom found in any rank of society and worth descending far in society to seek. . . . Had he been ever so little richer, the whole might have issued otherwise. But poverty sunk the whole family even below the reach of our cheap school system, and Burns remained a hard worked plough boy."

His education, scanty as it was, was irregular and



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pursued under difficulties. He learned to read in his sixth year, received some instruction in writing subsequently, and gradually acquired a little acquaintance with English and French as well as with the rudiments of geometry. At thirteen he thrashed his father's corn and at fifteen was the chief labourer on the farm. Unremitting cheerless toil pursued throughout his boyhood brought its natural results: At sixteen his naturally strong frame began to show how greatly it had been overtaxed and his entire nervous system became disordered. His shoulders were bent and he fell an easy prey to fits of depression which frequent headaches only served to intensify.

Other results, equally baleful, presently manifested themselves, such as the unconquerable thirst for stimulants as a relief from the hard conditions of daily toil and the spirit of revolt which soon became one of the poet's strongest characteristics. In 1781 he went to Irvine to learn the flax dresser's trade, a venture which ended disastrously, for while he and his mates were carousing in honour of the New Year the shop took fire and Burns was left penniless. Strongly amorous by nature, Burns was perpetually falling in love, and not always in the most innocent fashion. Before going to Irvine he had already fallen in love with Ellison Begbie, a farmer's daughter, to be identified in his songs with his Mary Morison, and this was but one of the love episodes more or less definitely hinted at in his songs.

Burns's father died in February, 1784, an event which sobered the handsome, rollicking peasant, popular as the boon companion of equally reckless mates, and already beginning to be known as a rustic poet, and for some years he and his brother Gilbert lived quietly at Mossgiel on a farm which they had leased. It was during his residence at Mossgiel that he became ac-



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quainted with Jean Armour, his future wife. Her father, a master mason, frowned on the match, and Burns in despair took passage to Jamaica where a book-keeper's post was offered him. To obtain the needful passage money he published at Kilmarnock in 1786 a collection of his poems which proved unexpectedly successful, and after remaining unsettled in his purposes for some length of time, he eventually gave up his West Indian plans.

He was already the father of one illegitimate child, Elizabeth Paton, and in September of this year Jean Armour gave birth to two children whose paternity he acknowledged. In the preceding May Burns had met Mary Campbell of Dunoon who had promised to go with him to Jamaica as his wife; and it is she whom the poet commemorates in several touching lyrics, "To Mary in Heaven," "Will Ye Go to the Indies, My Mary?" and others. Although there can be no question as to his sincere love for Mary Burns while betrothed to her, he still admitted loving Jean most ardently, but the complication did not long continue, for the poet's "Highland Mary" died in October, 1786. In 1788 he and Jean Armour were married, but the fact of his marriage by no means precluded his engaging successively in other love passages for the rest of his career.

No study of Burns as a poet can leave out of account some mention of the various love episodes in his life. In some men such episodes are incidental, a part, and perhaps a comparatively small part, of life's experiences; in Burns they constituted a vital element of existence and they dominated and coloured his verse. His moral lapses cannot be condoned, but they are readily explainable when one becomes acquainted with the circumstances of his early life and comprehends the strength of the poet's temptations. And when all is

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said that may be said in criticism of the more reprehensible features of his life the poet's own words can hardly fail to come to mind admonishing against too harsh a judgment:

“Then gently scan your brother man,  
Still gentler sister woman;  
Though they may gang a kennin' wrang,  
To step aside is human;  
One point must still be greatly dark,  
The moving why they do it!  
And just as lamely can ye mark  
How far, perhaps they rue it.

“Who made the heart, 'tis he alone  
Decidedly can try us,  
— He knows each chord — its various tone,  
Each spring — its various bias!  
Then at the balance let's be mute,  
We never can adjust it;  
What's done we partly may compute,  
But know not what's resisted.”

The volume of Burns's verse which saw the light in June, 1786, includes some of his most famous poems: among them are “The Twa Dogs,” “To a Daisy,” “The Cotter's Saturday Night,” “To a Mouse,” and the “Address to the Deil,” a collection extremely varied in character but bearing the undeniable stamp of genius. Almost instant recognition followed in Scotland, and he was invited to mingle in the most cultivated circles in Edinburgh, where he was universally admired and patronized. His dignified independent bearing in the midst of scenes so utterly new and amongst persons whose like he had never before encountered was much praised, but it was evident to the more clear sighted that he did not consider the attention paid him as any more than his merits entitled him to, as indeed it

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assuredly was not. The second edition of his "Poems" came out in 1787 and brought him £400. The next year he settled at Ellisland on the Nith, married Jean Armour and presently lost his money. At Ellisland he wrote "Auld Lang Syne" and "Tam o' Shanter," and in 1792 he wrote very nearly a hundred songs, the best of which are now known to Scotsmen all over the world, to accompany a work entitled "Melodies of Scotland for the Piano and Violin," and for all his labour, creative and adaptive, he received in money but a paltry £5.

He held at one time the post of excise officer at Dumfries, but did not retain it long and presently fell upon evil days, his violent advocacy of the principles animating the leaders of the French Revolution soon exiling him from polite society. His temper became soured, poverty did more than merely look in at the window, and he presently plunged so deeply into dissipation of various kinds that the end came all too quickly. Pinched sharply by want and involved in debt he was forced to solicit from a cousin the loan of £10 to save him from a debtor's prison. This was on the twelfth of July, 1796, and on the twenty-first the greatest poet Scotland has ever known was dead. Four days later he was buried and on the same day his youngest son was born.

"Lowland Scotland as a distinct nationality," it has been said, "came in with two warriors and went out with two bards. It came in with William Wallace and Robert Bruce and went out with Robert Burns and Walter Scott. The first two made the history, the last two told the story and sung the song." But, Professor Nichol is careful to point out that "what in the minstrel's lay was merely a requiem was in the people's poet also a prophecy. The function of Burns in the

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progress of our literature may be shortly defined; he was a link between two eras, like Chaucer the last of the old and the first of the new — the inheritor of the traditions and the music of the past, in some respects the herald of the future."

As a poet of Nature he doubtless owes something to Thomson, but in the ability to harmonize its varied manifestations with human moods he may be considered a forerunner of Wordsworth. To quote again from Professor Nichol, whose insight into the character of his great countryman is singularly clear:

"His peculiar characteristic is his absolute sincerity. A love for the lower forms of social life was his besetting sin; Nature was his healing power. Burns compares himself to an *Æolian* harp, strung to every wind of heaven. His genius flies over all living and lifeless things with a sympathy that finds nothing mean or insignificant. . . . This constant tendency to ascend above the fair or wild features of outward things or penetrate beneath them, to make them symbols, to endow them with a voice to speak for humanity, distinguishes Burns as a descriptive poet from the rest of his countrymen. . . . The sympathies of Burns, as broad as Wordsworth's, are more intense. . . . Of the people he speaks more directly for the people than any of our more considerable poets. . . . All Scotland is in his verse. Let who will make her laws, Burns has made the songs her emigrants recall 'by the long wash of Australasian seas,' in which maidens are wooed, by which mothers lull their infants, which return 'through open casements unto dying eyes,' they are the links, the watchwords, the masonic symbol of our race."

When the eighteenth century was drawing to a close Great Britain had little to show in the way of periodical literature at all resembling the state of

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things in that regard existing to-day, or even that discoverable when the next century was young. There were, to be sure, *The Monthly Review*, established on Whig principles, so far back as 1749, and its opponent, *The Critical Review*, founded by Archibald Hamilton six years later. Criticism was mainly in the hands of these two periodicals, and in spite of the occasional contributions of men of talent their critiques for the most part were quite wanting in discriminating judgment and artistic perception. *The Scots Magazine* was of even less significance, but dragged on an eventless existence from 1739 to 1826.

But a new era was beginning and Scotland was experiencing its first fruits in the songs of Burns, its subsequent manifestations were different in character. Publishing business in Edinburgh had sadly languished in the later years of the eighteenth century, when it suddenly revived at the instance of Archibald Constable, who, as Lord Cockburn says, "rushed out and took possession of the open field. Abandoning the old and timid and grudging system, he stood out as the general patron and payer of all promising publications and confounded not merely his rivals in trade, but his very authors, by his unheard of prices. Ten, even twenty, guineas a sheet for a review, £2,000 or £3,000 for a single poem and £1,000 each for two philosophical dissertations, drew authors from dens where they would otherwise have starved, and made Edinburgh a literary mart, famous with strangers and the pride of its own citizens."

Such free-handed methods accomplished their intended results and the *Edinburgh Review*, the first number of which appeared in October, 1802, with Constable as publisher, was speedily able to gather to its support a circle of contributors of the first order of

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talent. Founded by Francis, Lord Jeffrey, and Sydney Smith, it still remains uncertain which had the precedence, the *Review* became the undisguised champion of the Whig cause, although independence was originally contemplated, and Lord Cockburn confidently asserts that "it elevated the public and the literary position of Edinburgh to an extent which no one not living intelligently then can be made to comprehend."

Its Whig proclivities deprived it of the support of Scott, who was a Tory of a very decided stamp, but even had Scott become a member of its staff it is more than doubtful if he and Jeffrey could have worked together harmoniously. Jeffrey was by nature incapable of appreciating the poetical genius of his contemporary, and in his review of "Marmion" regretted "that an author endowed with such talents should consume them in imitations of obsolete extravagance and in the representation of manners and sentiments in which none of his readers can be supposed to take much interest except the few who can judge of their exactness."

It was on a stormy evening when a company of able men gathered in Jeffrey's rooms at 18 Buccleugh Place, discussed the founding of a Review, Smith or Jeffrey first suggesting it. As an *Edinburgh Review* had in 1755 and 1756 survived the struggle for existence to the extent of two numbers only, it was evident that unless a similar fate should overtake a second venture of the same kind the project should receive most careful consideration. There was, however, great enthusiasm manifested at the first meeting, and after an interval of several months the earliest number of the new *Edinburgh Review* was issued. It bore upon its title page the motto "*Judex damnator cum nocens absolvitur*," and contained twenty unsigned articles by Smith, Jeffrey,

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Horner and Brougham. Smith was then residing in Edinburgh for a period of five years, and was on familiar terms with the literary figures of the northern metropolis, while Jeffrey, two years his junior, had been recently called to the Scottish bar.

Smith was the most cautious of the company, and believing that unless the strictest *incognito* was preserved the *Review* would inevitably fail, he insisted that the meetings of the contributors should be held at the printer's, to which they must go singly and by different avenues of approach. For the first three numbers Constable paid nothing, he taking all the risks; afterwards contributors were paid ten guineas a sheet. The minimum of payment was presently fixed at sixteen guineas a sheet and this continued until Jeffrey's resignation of the editorship in 1829. The first number, it should be added, was edited by Smith, Jeffrey's management beginning with the second number. To Jeffrey as editor succeeded Macvey Napier, and on the latter's death, in 1847, the periodical, then the property of the Longmans publishing house, was removed to London. In 1809 a formidable rival of the *Edinburgh Review* made its appearance, *The Quarterly Review*, the mouthpiece of Toryism, to the support of which such writers as Scott and others whose political sympathies prevented their association with the earlier periodical, eagerly rallied. The *Quarterly* continued to be edited by William Gifford from the start until 1824, when Scott's son-in-law, Lockhart, succeeded him. Until his death Scott's connection with the *Quarterly* never wholly ceased.

A literary event of importance occurring later in Edinburgh was the founding in January, 1817, of *The Scotsman*, a newspaper first issued as a weekly, and controlled by a group of able and conscientious

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writers who were determinedly opposed to the subservience of the Scottish peers of that era. It succeeded at the start and to this day holds a firm place in the front rank of Scottish newspapers. The only monthly periodical existing in Edinburgh at this time was the colourless *Scots Magazine*, already mentioned, but its supremacy, such as it was, was suddenly disturbed by the establishment in 1817 of the *Blackwood's Magazine*, controlled by William Blackwood, the Edinburgh publisher. Six inferior numbers had been put forth and the venture looked doubtful. Then Blackwood, securing such a staff of brilliant contributors as Lockhart, Wilson, Hogg, Doctor McCrie and Walter Scott, produced a genuine sensation by sending out an October number containing the since famous "Chaldee Manuscript."

This contribution to literature was a personal satire on contemporary figures and purported to be transcribed from an ancient papyrus. Its Scriptural diction was thought more or less profane by many and the article itself filled Edinburgh with excitement and ill humour. Of its 211 verses the first thirty-seven were the work of Hogg, and the authorship of the remainder was divided between Lockhart and Wilson. Many persons were satirized or described in the "Chaldee Manuscript" under such nicknames as Ebony for Blackwood, the Leopard for Wilson, the Scorpion for Lockhart, the Great Magician for Scott, and so on. Scott highly disapproved of the abusive tone of the new periodical and Lockhart's association with it is said to have led him at first to regard with disfavour the young man's attentions to the novelist's daughter Sophia. The publication of this satirical allegory led to subsequent litigation and it was presently suppressed. It was reprinted, nevertheless, in the collected edition

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of Wilson's works (1855-1858) with explanatory notes by his son-in-law, Professor Ferrier.

"From time to time," writes Mr. Saintsbury, "students of literature turn to the early numbers of these famous periodicals, of the *Edinburgh*, especially, with the result, usually of a certain, sometimes of a considerable disappointment. With the exception of a few things already known from their inclusion in their authors' collected works, the material as a whole is apt to seem anything but extraordinarily good; and some wonder is often expressed at the effect which it originally had. This arises from insufficient attention to a few obvious, but for that very reason easily neglected truths. The inquirers as a rule have in their minds much more what has followed than what has gone before; and they contrast the early numbers of the *Edinburgh*, not with its jejune forerunners but with such matured instances as Macaulay's later essays; the early numbers of the *Quarterly*, not with the early numbers of the *Edinburgh*, but with their own successors. Again it is apt to be forgotten that the characteristics of joint-stock periodical-writing make as much for general equality as for occasional goodness. That which is written by many hands will seldom be as bad, but can never be as good, as that which is written by one; that which takes its texts and starting-points from suggested matters of the moment will generally escape the occasional dullness, but can rarely attain the occasional excellence, of the meditated and original sprout of an original brain.

"The *Edinburgh* in its early years was undoubtedly surpassed by itself later and by its rivals; but it was a far greater advance upon anything that had gone before it . . . and it had a very remarkable staff beside the talents of its editor, Jeffrey himself. . . . Jeffrey's entire energies were absorbed by the *Review*

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between its foundation and his resignation of the editorship after nearly thirty years. . . . His life, for the purposes of literature, is practically comprised between 1802 and 1829, during which he was far more than titularly the guiding spirit of the *Review*. . . . He wrote a great deal — often in the early years as many as a half a dozen articles in a number — and he ‘doctored’ his contributors’ articles with the utmost freedom.”

His judgments were far from being infallible in their character. He snubbed the young Byron, belittled Scott, and showed almost vindictiveness in regard to Wordsworth, and time has reversed his conclusions in regard to these famous contemporaries of his, as well as in respect to the wearers of lesser names. “A more serious fault was the tone which he, more than anyone else, impressed on the *Review*, and which its very motto expressed, as though an author necessarily came before the critic with a rope about his neck, and was only entitled to be exempted from being strung up *speciali gratia*.” Though his faults as an editor were many he was in certain directions a really great critic. Few could equal him in summing up the features of a literary period and when his personal prejudices did not stand in his way he excelled in selecting the finest passages in a book. Insufferable he might be found to-day in any editorial chair, in his own day he was almost indispensable in the position he so long held. There were, as we have seen, periodicals in existence before the days of the *Edinburgh Review*, but they were sadly lacking in the quality now styled “ginger.” Jeffrey and his fellows, both friends and foes, supplied that then much needed element of composition, and literature had reason to be grateful for the service rendered. Something too much of it there may have been by the time *Blackwood* dawned upon the horizon, but the old-

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time atmosphere of respectable dulness once deemed essential in periodicals was effectually banished. And Jeffrey was more or less, and rather more than less, responsible for the banishment.

The chief forces determining the new movement toward romantic poetry were Wordsworth, Coleridge and Scott, the last named figure accomplishing the most toward popularizing the theory of such verse, though except for a volume of metrical translations he did not begin to write poetry till after the others had published volumes to their credit. He was born at Edinburgh, Aug. 15, 1771, and the birthplace itself having been destroyed in Scott's own lifetime a tablet at Number 8, Chambers Street, contains this inscription:

“ Near this spot stood the House  
In which Sir Walter Scott was Born.”

His father, who bore the same name, was a writer to the *Signet* and his mother was Anne Rutherford. Walter, their ninth child, was sickly in his earliest years, and though he outgrew this phase in time he was always lame. Sent as an infant to his grandfather's Border farm, he spent two years of his childhood at Bath on account of the waters there, and as he grew stronger he attended the grammar school at Kelso, where he made the acquaintance of his lifetime friends, James and John Ballantyne. Thence he passed to Edinburgh University and during his student days he had his one interview with Burns. Scott was then fifteen and the meeting took place at Professor Fergusson's, where Burns, on being shown a print with some unsigned lines beneath asked the name of their author. It happened that Scott was able to supply the authority, whereat Burns exclaimed, “ You'll be a man yet, sir.”

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Burns told Constable later that he had been greatly struck with the abilities of the Edinburgh lad. Fergusson, the host on that memorable evening, survived till thirty years later, long enough to see the prophecy of Burns fulfilled and Scott famous as the author of the "Waverley Novels."

After leaving the university Scott entered his father's office in which position his limitations were not greatly to his liking. The situation between the elder and the younger Scott is supposed to be described with considerable truth in that represented as existing between Alan Fairford and his father in "Redgauntlet." In due season he was called to the bar and after his first love affair had resulted adversely he married Charlotte Carpenter at Carlisle in 1797. By this time he had become an enthusiastic student of German, and in 1796 printed a collection of translations from Bürger. In 1799 he was appointed sheriff of Selkirkshire, which rendered him independent of his profession of barrister, and after translating Goethe's "Götz von Berlichingen" he presently attempted original work, the first outcome of his labours in this direction being "The Lay of the Last Minstrel," published in 1805. It brought him almost instant fame, and thenceforward till his death he was the foremost man of letters in the British Isles. The success of the "Last Minstrel" was repeated in "Marmion" in 1808 and "The Lady of the Lake" in 1810, poems which brought him money in abundance and unstinted fame — returns in greater measure than any British poet had received before him. "Rokeby" (1813) and "The Lord of the Isles" (1815) followed, but by this the taste for his work had slightly cooled and these poems, fine as they were, received less enthusiastic appreciation. They were, it is true, below the level of his earlier romantic epics, though they might have

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constituted the triumphs of a lesser bard, and recognizing this circumstance, as well as the slight revulsion in the public taste, Scott virtually abandoned poetic composition and presently achieved a new and even greater fame as a master of prose.

Scott's poetry has undergone several phases of popular regard in the century that has elapsed since the major part of it was written. To a certain extent his own carelessness of style was responsible for its undervaluation in some quarters. Accidentally stumbling, as it were, on a style which had no previous examples in precise literature, and was quite without restrictions, "in which the length of lines and stanzas, the position of rhymes, the change from narrative to dialogue . . . depended solely on the caprice of the author, it would have been extremely strange if a man whose education had been a little lacking in scholastic strictness, and who began to write at a time when the first object of almost every writer was to burst old bonds, had not been somewhat lawless, even somewhat slipshod . . . nor yet can it be denied that acute as was the sense which made Scott stop, he wrote as it was a little too much in this style."

But no classification of his verse can assign him any other than high rank as poet. For spirit stirring lyric what can surpass his "Lochinvar" and "Bonny Dundee," and for descriptive power in opposite directions when have the picture of Melrose in the "Last Minstrel" and the battle in "Marmion" been outdone? Scott's limitations as a poet are not, however, far to seek and the most important are these. He could not, or at least did not, express in his verse either the fullest passion or the deepest meditation, qualities always characteristic of the greatest poetry, and his excessive fluency became in his longer poems an element



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of weakness. He is therefore a poet of action or narration rather than of intense emotion or profounder thought. In other words, though Scott was a great poet his place was yet not with the highest.

The poet's life was happy enough in its earlier decades. In middle life his copyrights and his sheriffship made him a rich man, and after living in a cottage at Lasswade, then in a rented country-house at Ashestiel, he began to build himself a stately mansion at Abbotsford overlooking the valley of the Tweed. This, as it proved, was an ill-advised undertaking, involving him in vast expenditures, and in the commercial crisis of 1826 his publishers, Constable and the Ballantynes, failed, and the major part of his fortune was liable for the debts of the Ballantynes. He set himself bravely at the task of paying debts which he had only technically incurred and before the end of his career had settled the most of them. But he did so at the expense of his own life. Toil and disappointment undermined his health and worn out with cares and troubles he died at Abbotsford, Sept. 21, 1832.

Scott may be said to have virtually created the historical novel, for though innumerable attempts had been made in that department of literature before his day no one either in Great Britain or out of it had actually succeeded. Both the conception and the knowledge of history as apart from perfunctory reading and writing of chronicles had been of the slenderest character. Neither historians nor readers had been competent to reconstruct the life of an earlier period or realize the motives and actions which actuated the men of that period. As for local colour and faithfully rendered dialect — such details were never contemplated before Scott's day. But although he was in effect the father of historical fiction, elaborating it almost to



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its present condition, his novels cannot be all placed under one heading as historical novels. "Waverley" is distinctively historical, but "Guy Mannering" and "The Antiquary" are only historical in the faintest sense and "St. Ronan's Well" is still less cumbered with fact. That he is the novelist of Scottish history *par excellence* is frequently insisted upon, but such great fictions as "Ivanhoe" and "Kenilworth" have nothing to do with Scotland, and "Quentin Durward" but very little. "Waverley, or 'Tis Sixty Years Since," appeared in 1814, and for eighteen years the wonderful succession of novels issued forth, the delight and the marvel of the age. From the start the novels appeared anonymously and for a considerable period the secret of their authorship was fairly well preserved. Not until Scott's misfortunes made further secrecy impossible, as well as detrimental, was any regular announcement made as to their actual paternity. The subject was endlessly discussed, but while Scott's name was often repeated in connection with them no one was quite sure that the author of "Marmion" was also the author of "Waverley." "Guy Mannering," the second of the long series of thirty romances, was published in 1815, and bore on its title page the words: "By the Author of Waverley;" its successors gave the same amount of information and no more until the long-preserved secret was divulged from the force of circumstances.

"On the whole," says Saintsbury, "no artist is less chargeable with stereotype than he. His characters are hardly ever doubles; their relationships (certain general connections excepted, which are practically the scaffolding of the romance in itself) do not repeat themselves; the backgrounds, however much or however little strict local colour they may have, are always sufficiently differentiated. They have the variety, as they

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have the truth of nature. . . . Ostensibly going to the past, and to some extent really borrowing its circumstances, he in reality went straight to man as man; he varied the particular trapping only to exhibit the universal substance. . . . His work is such a body of literature as, for complete liberation from any debts as to models, fertility and abundance of invention, nobility of sentiment, variety and keenness of delight, nowhere else exists as the work of a single author in prose."

Seven miles southeast of Edinburgh is the village of Lasswade, in the outskirts of which is the thatched roof cottage which was Scott's summer residence for the six years immediately following his marriage, his town home for that period being in South Castle Street, Number 39. Here the poet translated "Götz von Berlichingen" and here he compiled the "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," in which he was assisted by John Leyden, poet, orientalist and traveller, whose "Scenes of Infancy," written principally at Lasswade, contains an affectionate tribute to Scott. In return Scott placed on the title page as the motto of "Marmion," a stanza from Leyden's "Ode on Visiting Flodden."

In 1804 Scott gave up his residence at Lasswade for Ashestiel, a mansion in the forest south of the Tweed, and seven miles from Selkirk. On the east is a wooded ravine to which the poet refers in the introduction to the first canto of "Marmion."

"Late, gazing down the steepy linn  
That hems our little garden in,  
Low in its dark and narrow glen,  
You scarce the rivulet might ken,  
So thick the tangled greenwood grew,  
So feebly trilled the streamlet through;

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Now, murmuring hoarse, and frequent seen  
Through bush and brier, no longer green  
An angry brook, it sweeps the glade,  
Brawls over rock and wild cascade,  
And, foaming brown with double speed,  
Hurries its waters to the Tweed."

This is a picture such as Scott dearly loved to paint and during his long residence at Ashestiel it was a picture ever near at hand. The first poem which the bard completed at Ashestiel was "The Lay of the Last Minstrel," and here also "Marmion" was rounded to a splendid finish with the description of the Field of Flodden, struck off at a single sitting. Scott about this time quarrelled with his publisher, Constable, and being now famous as the author of "Marmion" as well as its predecessor, he was unwise enough to set up the firm of John Ballantyne & Co. in opposition. Their name accordingly was placed on the title page of "The Lady of the Lake," the third of the Ashestiel epics, and the book appearing in April, 1810, speedily sent hosts of travellers to admire the myriad charms of the scenery about Loch Katrine.

The poem was a huge financial success and Scott, after investing his profits in buying Abbotsford, moved thither in May, 1812. While packing up his private papers he came upon a rough draft of "Waverley," written soon after settling at Ashestiel, but thrown aside and nearly forgotten by reason of the adverse criticism of friends to whom he had read it. It seems very probable that the description of Tully-Veolan, the Bradwardine home, depicted in "Waverley," is in its main features that of the ancient mansion of Traquair, the oldest inhabited seat in the Forest and the nearest to Ashestiel as one goes up the valley of the Tweed.

It was Scott's custom to go up to Edinburgh in

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November and there attend to his official duties as one of the chief clerks of the Inner Court of Session. They were not heavy and left him much time for writing at his winter home in Castle Street. Here it was that he finished "Waverley" and "Guy Mannering" and in one single year completed "Peveril of the Peak," "Quentin Durward," and "Saint Ronan's Well." In January, 1814, Scott returned to Abbotsford from Edinburgh, taking with him the first draft of "Waverley" with enough new matter added to make one volume. In printed form it was shown by Ballantyne to Constable who offered £700 for it when it should be completed. The *Scots Magazine* for that same January accordingly announced that "Waverley, or 'Tis Sixty Years Since, a novel in 3 volumes, would be published in March." As it happened, however, other literary labours intervened and the novel was laid by until June. Then for the evenings of three weeks Scott worked at his topmost speed upon the second and third volumes of "Waverley." The first edition of "Waverley" contained one thousand copies, the price of which was £1, 1s. each. It is a prime favourite with collectors, an uncut copy being worth about £20.

In December of 1814 the *Scots Magazine* printed two paragraphs on separate pages, one stating that Mr. Scott's poem, "The Lord of the Isles," would be issued in January following, the other announcing that the "Author of 'Waverley' was about to amuse the public with a new novel entitled 'Guy Mannering.'" Thereupon Scott went down to Abbotsford for the Christmas holidays and there wrote two volumes of "Guy Mannering," which, as we have seen, was completed at his Edinburgh residence. The first edition of this second romance comprised two thousand copies, the entire number being sold the day after publication.

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Its vogue was unbounded in the season of its youth, as it might be said, and it still remains the most popular of all Scott's novels. Its immediate successors were "The Antiquary," "Old Mortality," and "The Black Dwarf," all of them literary events of the year 1816, their issue so nearly at one time bearing abundant testimony to the rapidity of composition characteristic of the unknown author.

The year 1818 witnessed the appearance in print of two more novels, "The Heart of Midlothian" and "Rob Roy," the second of these tales containing that inimitable personage Andrew Fairservice, whose very name, as one writer has said, "is a touch of genius." It is Andrew into whose mouth Scott puts the famous description of Glasgow Cathedral as follows:

"Ah! it's a brave kirk — nane o' yer whigmaleeries and curliewurlies and open steek hems about it — a' solid, weel-jointed mason-wark, that will stand as lang as the warld, keep hand and gunpowther aff it. It had arnaist douncome lang syne at the Reformation, when they pu'd doun the kirks of St. Andrews and Perth and there awa', to cleanse them o' Papery and idolatry, and image worship and surplices. Sae the commons o' Renfrew, and o' the Barony, and the Gorbals, an a' about, they behoved to come into Glasgow ae fair morning, to try their hand on purging the High Kirk o' popish nick-nackets. But tounsmen o' Glasgow, they were feared their auld edifice might slip the girths in gaun through siccan rough physic, sae they rang the common bell, and assembled the train bands wi' took o' drum. And the trades assembled, and offered doun-right battle to the commons rather than their kirk should coup the crans as others had done elsewhere. Sae they sune cam to an agreement to take a' the idolatrous statues of saints (sorrow be on them) out o'

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their neuks, and sae the bits o' stane idols were broken in pieces by Scripture warrant, and flung into the Molendivear burn, and the auld kirk stood as crouse as a cat when the fleas are kaimed aff her, and a' body was alike pleased."

In John Ruskin's essay on "Fiction, Fair and Foul," three pages are occupied in analysis of this speech of Andrew Fairservice's, the passage being characterized as a fragment of Scottish history of quite invaluable and concentrated merit.

"Rob Roy" was succeeded in 1819 by "The Bride of Lammermoor" and "The Legend of Montrose," the latter a work of slighter texture than any of its predecessors, with the exception of "The Black Dwarf," and 1820, a yet more fruitful year, welcomed the publication of "Ivanhoe," "The Monastery" and "The Abbot," to which was shortly added, in 1821, the brilliant "Kenilworth." In December of that year the poet's daughter Sophia was married in the Castle Street home to the handsome young Lockhart, Scott purchasing for them a neighbour estate to Abbotsford, formerly called Burnesfoot, but which the poet renamed Chiefswood. When Abbotsford was crowded with guests, a frequent happening, so hospitable was its owner, Scott liked to retire to the quiet of Chiefswood, where, in a room over the porch, "The Pirate" was written in 1822.

Fourteen more novels of the Waverley series were yet to flow from his pen. "The Fortunes of Nigel" in the same year with "The Pirate," a tale in which there is a masterly portrait of James the Sixth of Scotland and Second of England; "Peveril of the Peak," completed, as already stated, at the Edinburgh home in 1823, — as were also "Quentin Durward" in the same year, and "Saint Ronan's Well," published in 1824.

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"Redgauntlet," which incorporates much of its author's personal history and experience, was another publication of 1824, and "The Betrothed" and "The Talisman" saw the light in 1825. It is in the fourth chapter of the latter work where occurs the description of Engaddi, which Scott is supposed to have derived from familiar acquaintance with the elaborately beautiful Roslyn Chapel not far from Abbotsford:

"The groined roofs rose from six columns on each side, carved with the rarest skill; and the manner in which the crossings of the concave arches were bound together with appropriate ornaments was all in the finest tone of the architecture and of the age. Corresponding to the line of pillars, there were on each side six richly wrought niches, each of which contained the image of one of the twelve apostles."

It is this same Roslyn Chapel to which Scott refers in the "Dirge of Rosabelle" in the "Last Minstrel:"

"There are twenty of Roslyn's barons bold  
Lie buried within that proud chapelle;  
Each one the holy vault doth hold —  
But the sea holds lovely Rosabelle."

"Woodstock" was written in 1826 in the novelist's study at Abbotsford, and its immediate followers were "The Two Drovers," "The Highland Widow" and "The Surgeon's Daughter," all assignable to the year 1827. The third named was the last of the series to bear on the title-page the puzzling legend: "By the Author of Waverley." On the 23d of February, 1827, at the first dinner of the Edinburgh Theatrical Fund Association, which was held at the George Street Assembly Rooms, Scott, in responding to his health, admitted that he was the sole author of the Waverley Novels.

## THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

Scarcely had he finished speaking when the hall was filled with the repeated cheers of his enthusiastic and affectionate admirers, cheers which were taken up and echoed by a great crowd in the street outside.

The "Tales of a Grandfather" (1827-30) were written in the Abbotsford study, so also was "The Fair Maid of Perth" in 1827. The remaining numbers of the series were "Anne of Geierstein" (1829), which with "The Fair Maid of Perth," though not so much read as some others, have been high favourites with discriminating judges; "Count Robert of Paris" (1831), possibly the weakest of the collection, and "Castle Dangerous" (1831). Both of these last are to be judged of as the work of dying genius, but dying in harness after repeated and heavy blows of fate.

In the midst of the scenery so dear to the heart of the great Scotsman are the ruined fragments of the Premonstratensian Abbey Church of Dryburgh, the larger one of which is the eastern aisle of the north transept: two vaulted bays in transept and choir with triforium stage yet intact and crumbling clerestory above. The privilege of burial in Saint Mary's Aisle, as the fragment is termed, was granted to Scott's father and uncles by the Earl of Buchan in 1791, as a red sandstone tablet underneath the window in the bay to the south records, and here Sir Walter by will directed his own body to be laid. In this bay, therefore, a granite sarcophagus marks his last resting-place, and the quiet spot among the venerable yews, and around which the Tweed sweeps in a graceful curve, has been the Mecca of thousands of admiring pilgrims for well-nigh eighty years.

END OF VOLUME VI.



## NOTES

1. When Doctor Johnson visited Kingsburgh, in company with Mr. Boswell, in 1774, he slept in the same bed that Charles had occupied twenty-eight years before. "To see," says Boswell, "Dr. Samuel Johnson in that bed, in the isle of Skye, in the house of Miss Flora Macdonald, struck me with such a group of ideas as it is not easy for words to describe, as they passed through the mind. He smiled and said, 'I have had no ambitious thoughts in it.'" Boswell describes Flora (then Mrs. Macdonald of Kingsburgh) at the time of the visit, as "a little woman, of genteel appearance, and uncommonly mild and well bred." — *Tour to the Hebrides*.

2. Richard Morison, who had been valet-de-chambre to Charles, and was, at the time of Mackenzie's death, under sentence of death at Carlisle, was carried to London, and promised a pardon if he would declare truly whether the head was that of the prince. The Chevalier Johnstone, who was in London some months after this occurrence, says that Morison was attacked on the road with a violent fever accompanied with delirium, that he remained in bed in the messenger's house, in that state, for fifteen days after his arrival in London, and that, when he began to recover, the head was in such a putrid state that it was judged unnecessary to examine him, as the features could no longer be distinguished. But the editor of "Johnstone's Memoirs" states, from what appears to be more correct information, that Morison examined the head, and declaring that it was not that of the prince, was pardoned. Morison went to France, and continued several years in the prince's service. Charles afterward recommended him to his father, and informed him that he "could not make a better acquisition than to take him for a valet-de-chambre. He shaves and combs a wig perfectly well, and is of the best character I can express. He had very good living when I took him in my service at Edinburgh, since which he was made prisoner and condemned to be hanged. It would be too long to say how he escaped."

3. Appendix to Home's Works, Vol. iii. No. 46. Cluny himself

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had several places of concealment on his estate. "He lived for nine years chiefly in a cave, at a short distance from his house, which was burnt to the ground by the king's troops. This cave was in the front of a woody precipice, the trees and shelving rocks completely concealing the entrance. It was dug out by his own people, who worked by night, and conveyed the stones and rubbish into a lake in the neighbourhood, in order that no vestige of their labour might betray the retreat of their master. In this sanctuary he lived secure, occasionally visiting his friends by night, or when time had slackened the rigour of the search. Upwards of one hundred persons knew where he was concealed, and a reward of £1,000 was offered to any one who should give information against him; and as it was known that he was concealed on his estate, eighty men were constantly stationed there, besides the parties occasionally marching into the country to intimidate his tenantry, and induce them to disclose the place of his concealment. But though the soldiers were animated with the hope of the reward, and though a step of promotion to the officer who should apprehend him was superadded, yet so true were his people, so strict to their promise of secrecy, and so dexterous in conveying to him the necessaries he required, in his long confinement, that not a trace of him could be discovered, nor an individual found base enough to give a hint to his detriment. At length, wearied out with this dreary and hopeless state of existence, and taught to despair of pardon, he escaped to France in 1755, and died there the following year." — *Stewart's Sketches*, 3d Edition, vol. i. p. 62.

4. The following is the form of the oath: — "I, A. B., do swear, and as I shall answer to God at the great day of judgment, I have not, nor shall have, in my possession any gun, sword, pistol, or arm whatsoever, and never use tartan, plaid, or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do so, may I be cursed in my undertakings, family, and property; may I never see my wife and children, father, mother, or relations; may I be killed in battle as a coward, and lie without Christian burial, in a strange land, far from the graves of my forefathers and kindred; may all this come across me if I break my oath' "

5. The only difference between the fealdag and the philibeg is, that the former is not plaited.

6. This trial took place in 1757. After this relaxation of the law less attention was paid to its observance. This obnoxious act, unworthy of a free government, was repealed in 1782, in as far as it related to the Highland garb.

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President Forbes was quite opposed to any enactment interfering with the Highland garb. Writing to the Lord Lyon from Edinburgh, on 8th July, 1746, he observes: — “ With respect to the bill for altering the Highland dress, which, if I understand anything, is no more than a chip in porridge, which, without disarming, signifies not one halfpenny; and an effectual disarming supposed, is of no sort of inconvenience to the neighbouring country or to the government. I do not wonder that you, and a great many wise men where you are, who know nothing at all of the matter, should incline to it. The garb is certainly very loose, and fits men inured to it to go through great fatigues, to make very quick marches, to bear out against the inclemency of the weather, to wade through rivers, and shelter in huts, woods, and rocks upon occasion; which men dressed in the low country garb could not possibly endure. But then it is to be considered, that, as the Highlands are circumstanced at present, it is, at least it seems to me to be, an utter impossibility, without the advantage of this dress, for the inhabitants to tend their cattle, and to go through the other parts of their business, without which they could not subsist; not to speak of paying rents to their landlords. Now, because too many of the Highlanders have offended, to punish all the rest who have not, and who, I will venture to say, are the greatest number, in so severe a manner, seems to be unreasonable; especially as, in my poor apprehension, it is unnecessary, on the supposal the disarming project be properly secured; and I must confess, that the salvo which you speak of, of not suffering the regulation to extend to the well-affected clans, is not to my taste; because, though it would save them from hardships, yet the making so remarkable a distinction would be, as I take it, to list all those on whom the bill should operate for the Pretender, which ought to be avoided if possible. It is for these reasons, which my occupations make it impossible for me to explain at length, that I wish this clause might be dropped, — the rather that if any reasons of state, which I cannot judge of, because I have not been acquainted with them, make it necessary, a bill to that purpose might be contrived, with much less harm to innocent persons than probably the framers of this project have thoughts of.” — *Culloden Papers*, p. 289.

7. This poem was long ascribed to the Scottish poet, William Julius Mickle, but is now commonly attributed to Jean Adams.















